





Life of Garret Augustus Hobart

Twenty-fourth Vice-President of the
United States

By

David Magie, D.D.

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PREFACE

TO few men has it been given—as it was given to Garret Augustus Hobart—to rise to eminence with so little envy or detraction; to succeed in large enterprises with so little strain of effort; to preserve in engrossing labors and anxious cares such unruffled serenity and sweetness of disposition; to fill so large a place in public affairs and so loving a place in the affection of friends and in home life; to be so highly honored, and to die in the fulness of his powers and influence so truly lamented. Surely his was an enviable lot in life.

It is impossible to view his life merely as the life of a successful business man, or patriotic politician. At every point of view, in every period, the man stands out more prominent than the circumstances or the station. If his career lacks the exciting interest of the fierce purpose of reckless ambition, and of bitter conflict with rivals and conquest over foes, it always possesses the pleasing attraction of good nature and cheerfulness, winning the kindly feelings of an ever-widening circle of friends, and sustained in the devoted affection of a loving home.

This personal magnetism not only disarmed un-

friendly criticism and prevented bitterness of feeling in the strife of life, but by its attractiveness drew attention from his natural gifts and the labors of an exceptionally busy life. The cordial demeanor and genuine interest which he showed to all who sought him prevented an appreciation of his constant occupation, and oftentimes of his weariness. Every one carried from his presence an uplift of life and hope, and even the disappointed felt no unkindness. His success neither caused surprise, nor aroused fears that he would not be equal to any occasion. It was regarded as a matter of course that he would succeed in any position. Step by step he advanced, filling each successive post with honor, until he occupied a place among the most prominent men of affairs in the social, financial, and political life of the nation, but he remained unchanged in character and in manner. He was not spoiled by fortune or fame, praise or power. In every position he retained his self-possession and his simple purpose to act well his part; and he never forfeited the respect and regard of those with whom he was associated.

It requires an effort to withdraw attention from the charm of his personality to his intellectual power, his rare sagacity, his practical common sense, and to the severe labors by which he built on a secure foundation character and reputation. To form a just idea of the man requires that he should be judged not only by his singular personality, which made all who knew him his friends; but

also by his industry, sincerity, and independence; his quick perception, clear judgment, and frank expression; and his saving humor which relieved the stress of toil and care. He lived an active, cheerful life; he did true and useful work; he filled with credit the high office to which he was elected, and in the height of his career and the maturity of his powers, without a murmur of complaint, he resigned his life. He left the world better than he found it. His name is honorably written in the records of his country, and faithfully cherished in the hearts and memories of countless friends.

It is fitting that the story of Mr. Hobart's life should be told with loving sympathy. With this conception of his character and life, this memorial is prepared for those who knew and loved him by one who knew and loved him both as his pastor and his friend.

D. M.

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LIFE OF GARRET AUGUSTUS HOBART

CHAPTER I

Birth—Ancestry

GARRET AUGUSTUS HOBART, the twenty-fourth Vice-President of the United States, was born on June 3, 1844, in the village of Long Branch, Monmouth County, New Jersey. The house in which he was born still stands, though somewhat changed in form, on the road leading to Eatontown. His life began in a simple home and plain conditions. While frugality was a necessary virtue in that home, affection, intelligence, and religion elevated and cheered its life, formed its habits, and ennobled its aspirations. This little child was not born to an inheritance of wealth or station, but to an inheritance far better—the inheritance of an honorable name, of healthy blood, and of moral instincts. He was trained from his childhood with loving and faithful care in industrious habits and religious principles. With this inheritance and training he made his

own way through life, the architect and builder of his own fortune.

Three strains of blood from the most vigorous nations which have made modern history mingled in his veins; and to a remarkable degree he possessed the most characteristic qualities of each one. His father was of English stock, and from him he inherited a sturdy spirit, strength of purpose, and practical judgment. His mother was of mingled Dutch and French Huguenot stock, and from her he inherited the industry and perseverance of the Dutch and the affectionate nature, the buoyancy of heart, and the religious tendency of the Huguenots. These inherited traits under the incentives of American opportunities made him the man he became. His life is simply the development and use of his natural gifts trained under the acceptance and control of wholesome laws. It seemed to him, as he said, "easy to succeed." So regularly and normally did he make progress, it seemed to others—as men often said,—due to "good luck." But in addition to his qualities and opportunities there can always be discerned in his life the determining factor of a moral force, which spared no labor, admitted no defeat, employed every available agency, and could be satisfied only with the fullest result.

The first Hobart whose name appears in the annals of this country, was Edmund, who, when he was sixty years old, came from Hingham, Norfolk County, England with his wife, Margaret

Dewey, and three of their younger children, and a man servant, Henry Gibbs. All the rest of the family of eight children, with the exception of one who died in infancy, followed their parents across the ocean within a few years. Edmund Hobart, after a voyage which lasted almost three months, landed at Charlestown, Massachusetts, May 3, 1633. He remained in, or near, Boston for about two years. It seems certain that the cause of his emigration was the persecution, which was the lot of all who adopted Puritan views in those days. Soon after his arrival he united with the Congregational Church, and by this act became qualified under the laws of the colony to vote and to hold office. When the Rev. Peter Hobart, his son, came to this country in 1635, the whole family, including those who had come in this interval, moved to Bear Cove, about twelve miles south of Boston, and changed the name of the place to Hingham. There Edmund Hobart became a Commissioner of the Peace, and from 1639 to 1642 represented the town in the General Court. He died in 1646. Of him and his wife, Cotton Mather says in his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, published in 1702: "They were eminent for piety, and feared God above many."

The Rev. Peter Hobart was a graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge. After serving as a teacher for a short time, he was admitted to holy orders in 1627, and became the rector of a church according to some records, at Haverhill, Suffolk

County, but according to his tombstone, at Hingham, England. Being persecuted for his Puritan views and in danger of losing his living, if not his life, he resigned his charge, came to this country with his wife and four children, and settled at Hingham, Mass., where he organized a Congregational Church, of which in 1635 he became the pastor. He was a man of considerable learning, of determined independence, and of some combativeness. He came into conflict with the colonial authorities over the question whether the rite of marriage should be a civil or an ecclesiastical ceremony. In dread of the power of an established church, from which many of them had suffered persecution, the authorities at Boston had ordained by law that the marriage ceremony should be performed by a magistrate. This law the Rev. Peter Hobart opposed and violated, even going so far as to accept an invitation to preach in Boston on the occasion of a marriage. There can be little doubt that he gave a frank expression of his views in his discourse at that time. For this open defiance of authority he was summoned before the Governor and Council, and was condemned to pay a fine of two pounds. When the marshal attempted to collect this fine, he was resisted. Declining to attend on a second summons from the court, he was brought before the Council by a constable, and for his contumacy was fined twenty pounds, and required to give bonds for good behavior for twice that amount. This was

a heavy burden for a man whose salary was only seventy pounds, which was afterward and perhaps on this account, increased to fourscore pounds. History does not tell whether the fine was ever paid, but it adds to the record that when he was sentenced "his spirit rose"—a result contrary to the usual effect of a fine in modern times. Like his father he was twice married. He had seventeen children. Five of his sons were graduated at Harvard College, and four of them became clergymen. In the cemetery at Hingham, is a stone on which is this inscription:

In memory of
Rev. Peter Hobart who died January
20th in the 75 year of his age
and 53 of his ministry 9 years
of which he spent in Hingham
Great Britain and 44 in Hingham
Mass.

Cotton Mather also writes of him: "His heart was kind in sincere and earnest love to all pious men. He admired the grace of God in all the good though they were of sentiments contrary to his own." On the first page of a journal, in which he kept the church records, he wrote: "I with my wife and four children came safely to New England June ye 8, 1635 forever prayed be the god of Heaven, my god and King." Milton speaks of this class of men, who for conscience's sake left home and country, as "faithful freeborn English-

men and good Christians, constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, and whom nothing but the wide ocean and the savage deserts of America could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops."

The oldest son of the Rev. Peter Hobart was Joshua, who was born in England, was graduated from Harvard, and became the pastor of a church at Southold, Long Island, in 1674, and remained in that office for forty-three years. President Stiles said of him: "He was an eminent physician and divine, and in every way a great and learned and pious man." On his monument at Southold is this inscription: "He was a faithful minister, a skilled physician, a general scholar, a courageous patriot, and to crown all an eminent Christian."

His third son, the Rev. Nehemiah Hobart, was settled as pastor over the Church at Cambridge Village (Newton) in 1672, and died in that office in 1712. On his tombstone is this epitaph: "In this tomb are deposited the remains of the Reverend and very learned Teacher of Divinity, Nehemiah Hobart, an estimable fellow of Harvard College and watchful pastor of the Church of Newton for forty years. His singular gravity, humility, piety and learning rendered him the object of deep veneration and ardent esteem to men of science and religion."

In the fourth generation two of the Rev. Peter Hobart's descendants were men of special note. John Henry Hobart became rector of Trinity Par-

ish in New York City, and later the honored and beloved Bishop of the State. He was one of the founders of the General Theological Seminary in New York City. His remains rest beneath the chancel of Trinity Church. His character and work are perpetuated in Hobart College at Geneva. John Sloss Hobart was a distinguished lawyer, who in 1775 was a member of the provincial convention and in 1798 became United States Senator from New York, and afterward a judge of the District Court of New York City. Successive generations of the Hobart family furnished numerous teachers, and occasionally a preacher, but for the most part they were plain, honest farmers, who served God and their country in their generation, and left behind them good names, large families, and small estates.

Roswell Hobart, one of these descendants, for reasons now unknown, moved to New Hampshire, and settled on a farm in Columbia Valley, Coos County. He, like many of his ancestors, was blessed with a large family, too large to be all supported on the farm. One of his sons, Addison Willard, fixed upon New Jersey as a suitable place for his residence, and found employment as a teacher of a school in Marlboro, Monmouth County. Here he married Sophia Vanderveer at her home a short distance from the village. With his wife and oldest son, in 1841 he moved to Long Branch, and established a school in a building of a single story, which stood on the

present site of No. 1 Primary School. He conducted this school with faithfulness and success, assisted by Margaret Vanderveer, his wife's sister. He was one of the founders of the First Reformed Church of this place, and a member of its consistory. A few of his pupils survive, who remember him as a zealous teacher, of kindly manners and of fine appearance. In 1852 he returned to Marlboro, where he opened a store, and in addition conducted a farm. He died in Marlboro in 1892.

The history of the family of Mr. Hobart's mother runs on nearly parallel lines of fact and faith with those of his father. The same fidelity to religious principles, the same endurance of persecution and flight to a land of refuge across the ocean, and the same successful struggle with new conditions are found in both the maternal and paternal lines of his ancestors. Sophia Vanderveer, his mother, was born near the famous battle-field of Monmouth Court-House, where Washington displayed his military genius, and was carried into an outburst of uncontrolled indignation at the pusillanimity of Charles Lee. She was the daughter of David G. Vanderveer and Catharine Du Bois. Her grandfather had suffered severely by the cruel depredations of the marauders from the mercenaries in the army of Sir Henry Clinton during the campaign of the British in the Jerseys. Many a Tory became a patriot from the sufferings inflicted upon them by those whom they befriended. Neither the Vanderveer family nor the Du Bois



family needed such cruel dealings to make them patriots in those days of trial.

David G. Vanderveer was a descendant from Cornelis Janse Van der Veer (son of John from the Ferry), who arrived at New Amsterdam on the ship "Otter" in 1659, from Alkmaar, in North Holland. He settled in Long Island where he was a magistrate from 1678-80. There he married Trintje, (Catharine) daughter of Yelles (Giles) de Mandeville, whose father had also escaped from persecution in France by the way of Holland. This class of immigrants added greatly to the industries of that period by their knowledge of the manufacture of textile fabrics. From Long Island some of their descendants settled in New Jersey; a part in the region about Paterson, and others in the southern counties.

Catharine Du Bois was the daughter of the Rev. Benjamin Du Bois, one of the remarkable men of his day, who served his God and his country with zeal and fidelity. He was the pastor of the two Reformed Churches of Freehold and Middletown for sixty-three years, and one of the founders of Queens—now Rutgers—College, and a member of its Board of Trustees from 1783 to 1827, the year of his death. During the trying period of the Revolution he sought to rouse his parishioners to defend the liberties of the country, and on the invasion of the State by the British troops put on his knapsack and carried his musket with his people to the field of battle. He died at the ripe age of eighty-

eight years. His wife lived to be ninety-six years old.

The Du Bois family can be traced back in history for centuries. In 1380, there is an authentic account of a Peter Du Bois in Flanders, who led the people in a conflict with the nobles. The head of the family in this country was Louis Du Bois, born about 1630, who escaped from persecution in France to Mannheim, Germany, and from that place came to New Amsterdam on the ship *St. Jan Baptist* in 1661. At Mannheim he married a French refugee Catharine Blancon. With others of his faith and language in 1663 he settled on a grant of 36,000 acres made to twelve patentees, of whom he was the leader. His oldest son was also a patentee. This land was in the region of Kingston, New York. There they established a church of their own order, of which Louis Du Bois was the first elder. An authentic account of a thrilling event connected with this family is preserved in a letter sent by the Court at Wilt Wych—Wild Village—now Kingston—to the Council of the New Netherlands colony at Manhattan. In an unexpected attack made by the Indians on the settlers in that region, the wife and three children of Louis Du Bois were made captives. The sachems of the Indians had been invited by direction of the Council to come to the settlement to renew the existing treaty of peace. In answer to this summons the Indians on the appointed day appeared in scattered bands, and distributed them-

selves in the houses of several settlements before the hour appointed, under pretext of selling trinkets and vegetables. Suddenly they began to slaughter the women and the children in the houses in several of the hamlets, and to set fire to the dwellings. A number of the settlers were shot down in the streets as they rallied and seized their arms. Fighting for their homes and families, they finally beat off the Indians, who in their retreat carried away many captives. Hampered with the care of the prisoners and expecting an attack from the enraged colonists, for which they were making preparations by the erection of a fort on an open hill, many of the children were killed, and several among the captives were condemned to die. Mrs. Du Bois, one of this number, was fastened to a stake around which wood was piled, and fire was about to be applied to consume her body, when, with rare faith and courage she began to sing the French metrical version of the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh Psalm, the wail of the Babylonish captives. Awed by her courage and interested in the strange sounds, the execution was delayed. A pursuing band, in which was her husband, heard her voice and was guided to the spot. They vigorously attacked and drove away the Indians, and rescued the brave woman. This account is confirmed in a journal kept by Captain Martin Kregier, who commanded a detachment sent from Manhattan by the Council to avenge the settlers. A grandson of Louis Du Bois moved to New

Jersey, and settled on a tract of land of twelve hundred acres in Salem County. He was the grandfather of the Rev. Benjamin Du Bois.

Of these early settlers of New England, Daniel Webster said:

Poetry has fancied nothing in the wanderings of heroes so distinct and characteristic. Here was man unprotected and unprovided for, on the shore of a rude and fearful wilderness, but it was politic, intellectual, and educated man. Everything was civilized but the physical world. Institutions, containing in substance all that the ages had done for human government, were established in a forest. Cultivated mind was to act on uncultivated nature, and more than all a government and a country were to commence with the very foundations laid under the divine light of the Christian religion. Happy auspices of a happy futurity! Who could wish that his country's existence had otherwise begun? Who would desire to go back to the age of fables? Who would wish for an origin obscured in the darkness of obscurity? Who would wish for other emblazonings of his country's heraldry, or other ornaments of her genealogy, than to be able to say that her first existence was with intelligence; her first breath the inspiration of liberty; her first principle the truth of divine religion?

From such ancestors, men of faith and courage, piety and patriotism, Garret A. Hobart inherited those qualities which made him the man he became, and enabled him to fill the place which he occupied in his day and generation. They wrote their lives and names in the history of their adopted country, as generations after he wrote his name higher in the history of the country he loved and served.

When he became a national character he was urged to have a search made of available records of his ancestors, with an intimation that he might be able to trace back his father's family to one of the noble families of England. To this he replied: "All I care to know is that my ancestors were plain, honest people, however poor or humble they may have been."

CHAPTER II

Early Life

THERE is seldom much of general interest to record in the life of a healthy boy in a well ordered home. This was true in the childhood of Mr. Hobart. In the events of a quiet village, in the labors and cares of a household where economy was necessary, and in the daily influence of religious instruction and example, weeks became months, and months years, with few changes to mark the progress of time. For this young lad it was a happy period of healthy growth under wise and loving training.

Three children in that home survived the period of infancy. Erasmus, the oldest, died in early manhood. The youngest, David Roswell, died a few years after his illustrious brother. Garret Augustus was the mother's boy, and the one who gave to the home most of its life. Between this lad and his mother there was a very tender relation. She loved to have him near her, and he loved to be by her side. He always sought the occupation which would be helpful to her and make him her companion. And she sought amid her household cares to train the mind of the lad as well as to

inculcate moral lessons. She instituted a home spelling match in which each in turn should give a word to be spelled to the other. Miss Georgiana Vanderveer, who was at that time an inmate of that home, recalls the mother's cheerful laugh as the little boy in a thin piping voice gave out in turn to his mother the hardest words he could think of. In the Sunday-school of the church in which his parents were members, and his father one of the consistory, he was carefully taught the catechism of the Reformed Church. The long and difficult answers of the Heidelberg catechism were learned with ease and recited with precision by this boy at a very early age, to the delight of the minister, the Rev. Ralph Willis.

His school education began at a period earlier than usual, probably from the fact that his father was at the head of the school. He seems to have had a place in the schoolroom for at least part of the day before he was five years old. After the removal of the family to Marlboro, the young lad was sent to a school in that village under the care of a Mr. Shaw and later of a Mr. Ball. There he made such rapid progress that he was placed in the same class with his older brother. Alfred D. Van Doren, now living, was also a member of that class. He remembers his classmate as a good natured boy, who faithfully and easily mastered his lessons, and who cheerfully helped others in their difficulties. He was usually the leader of one of the opposing sides in the school games. His

ready and tenacious memory was remarked even in that day. His studious habits and quick perceptions led his father to give him the best educational opportunities of that region, and he was sent to a school of note at that time, kept by W. W. Woodhull in Freehold. Between the teacher and the youthful scholar some difficulty arose, and the lad left the school one day with the announcement that he would never come back. That there must have been some justice on the boy's side seems evident from the fact that his father, who from his own experience knew the importance of sustaining the authority of the teacher, did not compel him to return. He was then sent, as a five-day boarder, to a school at Matawan, kept by James W. Schermerhorn. In this school he made such progress that he was prepared to enter college in his fifteenth year. His return each Friday to his home kept alive all the associations so important for the youthful character, and was a delight to both the mother and the boy. He was always careful to have his mother informed as to what he would like to find on the table on his arrival. He is remembered by one who was at school with him, as "a bright lovable boy and always at the head of his class."

As it was not thought advisable that he should enter college at so early an age, he spent a year at home after his school days were ended. He seems to have filled this interval with some review of his studies, and with occasional employment in

the store of Morford & Vanderveer. It was a matter of course that he should enter Rutgers College, an institution under the control of the Reformed Church. In his sixteenth year he was matriculated in the sophomore class of that institution. His college life was spent in faithful work and pleasant fellowship. His relations with his fellow students were always cordial, and both in their recreations and labors he held a prominent place. He had entered college for the purpose of gaining an education, and that purpose was never forgotten. As a student he made good use of his time and opportunities. He was graduated in his nineteenth year the third in his class, with the honors of the prize in mathematics and the English oration. He received his diploma from the hands of Theodore Frelinghuysen,—the first Vice-Presidential candidate from New Jersey,—who was defeated with Henry Clay in 1844, the year in which Mr. Hobart was born.

Some idea of his serious view of life at this period is obtained from a composition written in his college course. Its subject is "Latent Mental Power." He writes: "Nor can those germs which lie dormant in the mind be fully developed without the most persistent efforts on our part to cultivate the higher faculties of our nature, and embrace every opportunity for elevating our moral character." The Rev. Thomas O'Hanlon, one of his classmates, wrote these words in loving memory of him after his death:

He was a hard student, yet he was so gracious in his manner, so considerate of the members of his class, so ready to help any of us who might call on him for assistance in lessons—which was often done—that we not only esteemed him, but loved him. His good record as a student, and a gentleman with a character without a blemish, placed him easily among the very first of the class of 1863. We who knew him best expected him to make a success in life, and we have not been disappointed. His name adds lustre not only to the class and to the college, but to the state and to the whole country.

To his alma mater Mr. Hobart was always loyal, and in his later years he made generous contributions to its funds. During his Vice-Presidency the college conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, and elected him a trustee. He accepted the office with a full purpose to become an active member of that body, and to serve the institution with fidelity. The rapid progress of the disease which ended his life prevented him from meeting again with the trustees.

CHAPTER III

Profession—Marriage

AT the end of his college course, Mr. Hobart found himself not only without means of support, but in debt for a small amount. His first effort in life was to free himself from this obligation. As the most ready way to do this, he accepted the offer, made by his father's neighbors, to take charge of a parochial school about a mile and a half from his home. The building in which this school was held stood upon the grounds of the "Old Brick Church" in Marlboro. This proposal was a clear indication of the respect and confidence of the community in this young man, only nineteen years old, and known familiarly to them all from his childhood. Under these circumstances, to be made the teacher of those who had in many instances been his companions became for him a certificate of character. One of the advantages of the situation was that it enabled him to live at home. He rode on horseback each morning to the school. His compensation was to be at the rate of one dollar a month for each scholar. Small as was the fee, it is reported that all were not able to pay it. Nevertheless, at the end of three

months he had in hand one hundred and ten dollars, with which sum he was able to discharge his indebtedness, and was thus free to enter on his chosen profession. Thirty-three years later, one of his scholars, John W. Herbert, a lawyer of New Jersey, sat as a delegate from that State in the Republican National Convention at St. Louis, and had the pleasure of casting his vote for his former teacher as the nominee of the Republican party for Vice-President. And this act was equally a pleasure to Mr. Hobart, who said, when told of the fact: "It is doubly gratifying to have those who have known you longest honor and respect you."

In a speech made at New Brunswick at a Congressional Convention held prior to the National Convention, Mr. Herbert said: "Whoever may be selected as our candidate for President in the coming contest, I know I voice the sentiments of every Republican within the hearing of my voice, and in the State of New Jersey, when I express the hope that Garret A. Hobart may be nominated for Vice-President."

In his choice of a profession, Mr. Hobart was undoubtedly influenced by the success as a lawyer of Socrates Tuttle, an old friend of his father; and by his offer to take him into his office and home during the period of his legal studies. The life-long friendship of Addison W. Hobart and Socrates Tuttle began in New Hampshire, where they played together as children, attended the same school, and shared the same seat. When Mr.

Tuttle followed his friend to New Jersey to seek his fortune, he naturally sought the advice and assistance of the friend already settled there. The former intimacy was renewed and continued, and was strengthened by frequent visits after both were married. It was this warm feeling of lifelong friendship which led them, half in jest, to make a covenant in their early married life that their children should marry. Unlikely as it may have seemed, even to them, this is what came to pass.

Socrates Tuttle, in whose office Mr. Hobart studied law, was one of nature's noblemen, and one of the noblest of that considerable class of men in this country, who without the advantages of a liberal education, by labor and self-denial and indomitable purpose have raised themselves out of unfavorable conditions to honorable and useful positions. He deserves a place in these records, both as one who exerted a strong influence on the life and character of Mr. Hobart and as the father of his wife, who was so intimately connected with his happiness and success. The training of that home, where public affairs and especially political affairs were daily discussed with interest, where the newspapers were read with attention, and where prominent men came for consultation, fitted the daughter in a remarkable degree to be a help to her husband in his career.

It is worthy of notice that the lines of descent and influence, which met in Mr. Hobart's life

and helped to mould his character, came in his wife's family also from the same period of this nation's history and from persons in similar circumstances and of very similar characteristics. The first members of the Tuttle family came to this country in 1640, and one of the two brothers, John, settled at Ipswich, Mass. His descendants, though they were industrious and intensely loyal to their adopted country, never greatly prospered in material things. Lieutenant Jonathan Tuttle, the grandfather of Socrates, served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, and with his regiment took part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Horatio Tuttle, his son, after learning the trade of blacksmith at Bath, New Hampshire, removed to Coos County in the same State. His children and the children of A. W. Hobart, thus became schoolmates. He had nine children, all of whom lived to maturity. With so large a family, it became necessary that the older boys should early be put to work.

Socrates Tuttle, the fourth child, was thus called at an early age to do the work of a man. He shrank from no kind of labor. He worked in his father's forge, he labored as a farm hand, he served as a teamster, he toiled in a brick yard. All the education which he received was in the winter terms of three months in the neighborhood school. In after years, when he was the Mayor of Paterson, and one of the most prominent lawyers in the State of New Jersey, he used to point with

commendable pride to an ox chain which he had forged with his own hands and which was placed conspicuously over the door of his office. Such a man of tireless energy and earnest purpose could not be contented to spend his life in mere manual labors. As others of the family grew up, he became free to consider his own interests. Naturally he thought of the friend of his early days with whom he had been in communication, and sought his advice and aid. Through him he received an offer to take charge of a school at Blueball, Monmouth County, New Jersey. This offer, which assured an immediate support, he gladly accepted, and the two friends became again residents of the same county in the same State. His most intimate friend in the village was a young lawyer, whose influence led the teacher after three years' service to take up the study of the law. Realizing that his opportunities would be better in a larger place, and in the meantime a brother having settled in Paterson, he moved to that city and began his legal studies. In 1848, he was admitted to the bar, and in a few years he secured the respect and confidence of the community, gained a large practice, and was recognized as one of the leading lawyers of the State. He served two terms in the Legislature, but he loved his profession more than political honors and declined other nominations. As a lawyer he made his reputation. A ready speaker, clear in thought, possessed of genuine humor, untiring in work, ingenious in appeal, he

always exerted a powerful influence over a jury. No more honored citizen ever lived in Paterson. Broadminded, generous to a fault, interested in all the activities of the city, outspoken and intensely loyal, a faithful member and officer in the First Presbyterian Church, he lived a noble and useful life, and died beloved and lamented by all who knew him. Seized with severe pain about his heart while in his office, he ascended to his room, and in less than a half-hour this vigorous man, so full of life, had passed into the life beyond. He died at the age of sixty-six, February 12, 1885.

It was in the office, and under the example and training of Mr. Tuttle, that Mr. Hobart pursued his legal studies. He came to Paterson with sturdy health, a college education, and a determined purpose to make his own way in life. Practically he was without money, and there was no one on whom he could or would depend. Through this period of study he supported himself by unstinted labors. Far into the night, and night after night, he worked making copies of legal papers. He served for a time as a clerk in the First National Bank of the city, then recently established and only entering on its successful history. Little did he dream that he would ever become one of its most valued directors and one of its largest stockholders. In one way and in another he preserved his independence, and supported himself until his student days were over. No life ever disproved

more clearly the idea that success is a matter of chance. Opportunity came to him, as it comes to all, but it found him ready to seize it with fixed habits of labor, with knowledge gained by experience, and with an open, generous mind. He was always ready to see and to take the next step. He was licensed to practise law on June 7, 1866; in June, 1871, he became counsellor-at-law, and was made a master in chancery in 1872. His upright character, his industry, his fidelity in matters intrusted to him, and his genial manners gained for him friends and clients. By an increasing practice and by offices to which he was elected, his prospects became so encouraging that he was ready to enter into the compact which had been made by the parents of both parties before they were born. On the twenty-first day of July, 1869, Garret Augustus Hobart was married at her father's home to Jennie Tuttle.

Rarely has a more happy and congenial marriage taken place. From the modest beginning of their early married life to its end in high public station, their lives were united in unbroken affection and unity of purpose. Their aims and aspirations were alike in home life and in public activities. The training of her early life gave Mrs. Hobart sympathy with and interest in his public life. Her active mind and ready wit, trained in one of the best schools in the State, made her an influence in the social life connected with their station. But while thus fitted to adorn her station, she was a

true home-maker. She enjoyed home life, and with warm hospitality welcomed her friends to share her pleasures. No one could enter their home without feeling it was a privilege to have a place in its life. No small measure of Mr. Hobart's success was due to the love and cheer, the advice and help of the wife who made his home what it was.

In this home two children survived infancy, and added to the joys and hopes of their parents. Fannie Beckwith Hobart, of sweet and gentle memory, died abroad under sad circumstances, as will be told later. Garret Augustus Hobart, Junior, who during his father's term of office became widely known by his home-name "Junior," has a son who is another Junior, born August 24, 1907. Garret Augustus Hobart married Caroline Frye, daughter of Frank H. Briggs, of Auburn, Maine, and granddaughter of Senator William P. Frye of Maine, whose services in the Senate as its President pro tempore, and as a Senator, will be long remembered.



CHAPTER IV

Professional Life

THE active life of Mr. Hobart was spent in the city of Paterson, and with its development his history is most intimately connected. This city, founded in 1792, three years after the adoption of the Constitution by the Colonies, was selected by Alexander Hamilton on account of its valuable water power, derived from the falls of the Passaic, as the place where the manufacturing interests of the infant republic could be best established and developed. It had become a town of great importance as a manufacturing centre, and this fact exerted a decided influence in determining the line of Mr. Hobart's work in his profession. He early saw that the development of the industries of the country would require legal form and direction. In the conditions of this city he learned the need of the times and his true sphere of activity, and to Paterson he always felt he owed much of his success. In this city he studied his profession and carried on its practice; in this city he married and made his home; in this city he gained friends and fortune and fame; and in this city he died, its most honored and beloved

citizen. To this city of his adoption he gave loyal devotion, and in fullest measure was his affection returned. No one of its citizens could call more persons by name, and no one was more widely known. He seemed to know every one and to be known by every one. It may be said without qualification that he had not an enemy among all its citizens, and not one of them envied his success. For every one whom he met he had a pleasant word, and to every one in trouble an open hand. They felt they shared in his success and honors, because he always showed he shared in their labors and cares.

In the days of small things, when he was struggling to make a living and establish a home, he gladly and gratefully accepted cases in the lower courts, and public offices of small importance. The small fees and salaries derived from these sources were all of moment to him at this time. So faithful was he in these duties and responsibilities that each in turn became a stepping stone to something higher. His industry and fidelity, his genial manners and heartfelt interest in others, gained friends as well as clients and supporters. In the confidence and affection of those with whom he had to do, he laid a foundation on which he could securely build.

The records of his life at this time show continuous advancement year by year. In 1865, he was appointed by Justice Bedle, of the Supreme Court, clerk for the grand jury. In New Jersey the Common Law of England is still preserved as the

rule of practice, and this office is one of grave importance. He performed its duties with such ability that he received the thanks both of the court and the grand jury. He was elected a judge of election in 1868 in the Fourth Ward of Paterson, and was allowed for two days' services four dollars. When in 1871 the Republicans carried the city and elected Socrates Tuttle Mayor, he was chosen counsel for the city, and in the following year counsel for the Board of Chosen Freeholders. In this same year, 1872, he was elected a member of the Assembly, the lower house of the Legislature, was re-elected the following year, and was chosen by that body to be its speaker in the session of 1874. So spontaneous was this selection by his party that he was left absolutely untrammelled in his appointment of the committees. At the close of this session he was presented by the members of the Assembly with a portrait of himself, painted at their order and accompanied by cordial expressions of their regard and esteem. Great pressure was put upon him to allow his name to be presented by his party for a third term of service. He positively declined the honor, as contrary to a long established precedent. Though refusing to be a candidate himself, he gave all the strength of his influence to the election of his Republican successor. Yielding to the demands of the party, he accepted the nomination for State Senator in 1876, and was elected by the largest

majority ever given up to this time in the district, a majority greater than that given to Hayes for President by one hundred per cent. He was re-elected in 1879 by a still greater majority, and was chosen President of the Senate in the sessions of 1881-2. He was the first one in the history of the State to fill the two offices of Speaker of the House and President of the Senate. He became Speaker when he was thirty years old, and President when he was thirty-seven. During the terms of his service in the Legislature he was placed on many of its important committees, where his work was of great advantage to the State in the enactment of wise laws and in economy of administration.

His labors at this time were necessarily centred on the work of his profession. He was the lawyer rather than the politician. It was true as he said of himself at that time: "I make politics my recreation." While the facts of this time have a place here, the estimate of his services in these offices which he filled will find a place more appropriately in his political career, to which the following chapter is devoted.

It is an evidence of his common sense that he perceived clearly the line of work in which a lawyer of his talents in the conditions of that day was most likely to succeed. It was always a matter of regret to him that he was not fluent in utterance, and that he did not possess the gift of oratory. Whenever he did speak, he always commanded the

interested attention of his audience from the good sense and good feeling in what he said. But while not lacking in self-confidence, he was singularly diffident in addressing an audience, or pleading a case in court. For the intricacies and technicalities of great constitutional questions he had no predilection. On the other hand, he had an aversion to practise in the criminal courts. He selected for himself instinctively the field for which he was best fitted, and in consequence he rarely appeared in the courts. His office was the place of his work. Though he had not an exhaustive knowledge of the law in its technicalities, he had such an intuitive perception of legal principles, and such a clear and practical view of questions under consideration, that his advice was oftentimes more valuable to his clients than the well weighed opinions of men whose technical knowledge exceeded his. He naturally became the counsellor, rather than the advocate. However complicated were the matters submitted to him, he seemed by instinct to find at once the clue to make them clear, and with almost unerring judgment to point out the practical way to accomplish the desired results in accordance with legal principles. He thus became an invaluable adviser in business affairs and in the organization of business projects. While others might say, "I will consider and advise you," he, on the other hand, gave advice almost on the spur of the moment, and rarely was he found to have erred.

Everything he approved and planned seemed to succeed.

His power to work at this time seemed unlimited. So under control was his mind that he could turn without confusion of ideas from one matter to another. It was said of him that "no man in the State could attend to so many affairs and slight none of them." At any moment in his office he could stop to welcome a friend, to answer a question, to give consideration to another matter, and at once resume the subject on which he had been engaged. In the days when stenographers were unknown, he was said to be able to dictate to three clerks at one time. He early formed the habit, as he said, of "not doing boys' work." His time and strength could be better employed than in doing the petty work of an office. And he formed the habit, of far greater importance to the happiness of his family and the enjoyment of his friends, of leaving his work and worries behind him in the office. Even in his most laborious days he never appeared overworked, or overburdened with cares.

As the confidence of the community in his integrity and capacity for business was confirmed by his life and success, more and larger affairs were intrusted to him. He was appointed guardian, executor, and trustee in numerous instances. His reputation gradually extended beyond the bounds of his city and State. Large affairs came to be placed in his hands. He was appointed with James W. McCullough, receiver for the New



Jersey Midland Railroad. A little later, as the sole receiver, he paid a dividend even to its unsecured creditors, as well as at the very beginning, before settlement with the preferred creditors, paying the wages of the employes then long due. He helped, as its president, to reorganize the road under the name of the New York, Susquehanna & Western; and left it a paying enterprise in good running order. For his care for their interests he received the thanks of the workingmen whom he had protected. He was appointed receiver for two other railroads, the Montclair, and the Jersey City & Albany. His most noteworthy service as receiver was in the case of the First National Bank of Newark, whose affairs were found to be in great confusion. John Sherman, then Secretary of the Treasury, appointed him to take charge of the settlement of its complicated matters. In six months he collected from its assets nearly \$500,000, paid the depositors in full, and divided the remainder among the stockholders. For this achievement he was complimented in high terms by the Comptroller of the Currency. During this period of business activity, Mr. Hobart became connected, as counsel, director, or president with large public enterprises designed for the conservation and development of natural resources for public benefit. It was largely due to him that various smaller companies were combined in a great scheme to impound the surplus of the streams in the watershed of northern New

Jersey, and to supply the growing cities of Jersey City, Newark, Passaic, and Paterson with pure water. He became the president of the Passaic Water Company, which took over the rights of the Society for Useful Manufactures in the water of the river. He became later the president of this society, familiarly known as the S. U. M., which owed its existence to Alexander Hamilton. Its corporate life began in 1791. Under his management there was erected at Little Falls an immense filtration plant, where the water is subjected to daily tests to insure its purity. It is believed no purer water is supplied to any city in the country than that which is used by Paterson. He became president of the Acquackanonk Water Company, and was connected with several other companies, which were afterward consolidated into the East Jersey Water Company with the object of supplying, at a cost of \$6,000,000, the city of Newark. In carrying out the contract with Newark it was found the delivery pipe from the reservoir was too small to meet the requirements. The work necessary to fulfil the contract, it was calculated, would cost \$250,000. Some mistake had been made by the engineers, and the company was severely blamed, and even accused of fraud.

In a public letter, addressed to the citizens of Newark, Mr. Hobart frankly admitted the mistake, and proposed a remedy which would benefit the city and carry out the terms of the contract. One of the paragraphs of this letter closes with the

words, "We alone suffer; our misfortune is your opportunity. . . . We spared no pains or expense to secure the most skilful agents and use all the data and experience at our command; in fact we did all in our power to meet our contract obligations." The letter ends with these words, characteristic of its writer: "These statements, which I make by authority, ought to convince your people that the East Jersey Water Company is not so bad a corporation as it has been represented to be, and that it has no disposition to shirk or even shrink, from the performance to the fullest measure of its obligations, whatever loss this may impose on its stockholders."

Mr. Hobart was actively interested in the various street railway companies of Paterson, and had much to do with their consolidation as electric lines. A full list of all the companies with which in some capacity he was connected cannot now be obtained. Even a partial list might be tiresome. But in no other way can an adequate idea be given of the multifarious interests he carried on his mind. In addition to the corporations already named he was a director of the Morris Co. Railroad, the Lehigh and Hudson; of the First National Bank and the Savings Institution of Paterson; of the Barbour Brothers' Thread Company; the Pioneer Silk Company; of the Montclair, Highland, and Long Branch Water Companies; and of the Gas and Electric Power Companies of Paterson. He was the counsel for the East Jersey, and for

the West Milford Water Companies; and treasurer of the Cedar Lawn Cemetery Company, and the Cedar Cliff, Citizens', and Hamilton Land Companies. So widely had he come to be known as an organizer and director, that his name was sometimes placed in lists of directors without his knowledge. This was notably the case in the formation of a company to build a great suspension bridge across the Hudson to bring into the heart of the city of New York the trains of the various railroads coming to the opposite shore of New Jersey. Though the scheme never came to completion, his name was placed among a list of eminent engineers, bankers, and railroad officials. It is said that he was at one time connected with sixty corporations.

Nothing showed more clearly the reputation which he had gained among the business men of the country than his appointment, without his solicitation or even knowledge, by the representatives of thirty of the largest railroad corporations of the country, to be one of three arbitrators to settle matters in dispute between them. Questions of the rates of these competing companies had led to serious charges and injurious conflicts, which affected their relations, diminished their earnings, and unsettled the business of the country. To relieve these conditions the great trunk lines formed the Joint Traffic Railroad Association, which represented roads worth billions of dollars. At a meeting of their representatives they agreed

to appoint three arbitrators, to whom should be submitted all questions in dispute as to traffic, passenger and express rates, whose decision in each case should be final and binding. The men, selected for these purposes, and clothed with these great powers, were General Cox, the veteran of the Civil War, Ex-Governor of Ohio, and Secretary of the Interior under General Grant; James F. Goddard, who had also served in the Civil War, and since then had risen from a humble employe to be an important official in railroad service; and Garret A. Hobart. The plan failed in its purpose, partly because of the fears of the smaller companies and partly because of the jealousies of the larger ones. It was finally declared unconstitutional by the courts. But the appointment of Mr. Hobart to such an office showed the position he had come to occupy in the eyes of men noted for their shrewdness, sagacity, and success. He resigned this post on taking his place as President of the Senate of the United States after his election to the Vice-Presidency. In the eulogy which was pronounced in the Senate by Chauncey M. Depew on Mr. Hobart's life and services, he said:

By unanimous vote the representatives of these interests [the thirty railway companies] selected G. A. Hobart as an arbitrator. There could be no more significant tribute to his unfailing judgment, tact, and character than the remarkable fact that there was never an appeal from his decisions, nor complaint of their fairness and justice. In this demonstration is found the secret of his success. It

was characteristic of the man, that possessing the far-sighted faculty, and having the sense and training to keep the curb of caution upon the promptings of acquisitiveness and imagination, he drew a large circle into his plans, and all shared in the profits of his undertakings.

With this great load of work and responsibility resting upon him, his genial manners and friendly spirit remained unaffected. He was gaining a fortune and filling a large place in business and political affairs, but his character and manner remained unchanged. It would be a mistake to suppose he did not fully recognize his changed conditions, and that he did not cherish a laudable ambition to rise still higher. He saw, as clearly as any one, that fortune and station were within his grasp, but he steadily pursued his way on the sure lines of industry and fidelity. He neither hastened nor loitered on the way. The scale of his activity was enlarged, but the rules remained the same. Others might speak of his good luck; he knew the success which he had gained was due to the confidence of the community and to hard work. Something like a presentiment of the future seemed to influence him, but he never ceased to attend to the work in hand with diligence and fidelity. Wealth, position, and influence came to him, not as the result of self-seeking, or of making gain out of others' losses, or political chicanery, but from unremitting work, great business capacity and unfailing good nature. His work was not destructive, but constructive. He was not a

wrecker, but a builder. By the corporations in which he was interested the public was benefited, and the volume and profits of business were increased. In all he did and gained he never sacrificed a friend, or pursued a rival with scorn or invective. If he had an enemy, he did not know it. His friends he cherished with sincere regard, and his home was always to him the dearest spot of earth.

Something of the controlling principles of his life can be gathered from his own expressions. He was asked by a reporter after he had become Vice-President what a young man must do to succeed in life. He replied: "Success is not hard to attain. I believe any young man can succeed, if he will rigidly observe two rules: one is to be at all times strictly honest; the other is to be industrious and economical. It has been my practice never to spend more than I made." In a brief address made to the students of Rutgers College in New Brunswick, on the occasion of the one hundred and thirtieth anniversary of the college, and at the time of his acceptance of the office of trustee, he said: "It is the habit of my life not to accept office when I do not fulfil, or attempt to fulfil, the obligations connected with an office tendered or accepted. And so, in accepting this trusteeship, I promise to do what I can, be it little or much, for the college I have always loved, and whose welfare I have always had at heart." This purpose for his alma mater was not carried out as he had intended.

Though his untimely death prevented him from carrying into effect his purposes, his gifts to the college have been of substantial help in its work.

CHAPTER V

Political Life

WHEN Mr. Hobart said: "I am a business man; I engage in politics for recreation," he meant to express a fact. His life bore witness to the truth of his words. Deeply as he engaged in politics, business had always the first consideration in his mind. When he seemed greatly occupied with political affairs, they were to him, at the most, a change of work, and work which he thoroughly enjoyed. He played politics, as the great game of great men, with serious enjoyment. The laborious part—the strife in conventions, the work at primaries and the polls—he did not undertake. To plan a campaign, to set in operation political forces, to forestall opposition, to utilize ambitions and even prejudices was not to him labor, but enjoyment. As in his profession, he was the counsellor in politics and not the advocate; and here also he refused to do "boys' work." His wide acquaintance with men, his knowledge of human nature, his accurate judgment, and his supreme tact made him a power in the field of politics, first in his county, then in the State, and finally in the nation. After he became Vice-Presi-

dent, he gave expression to his views of the duty of young men to enter into political life in these words: "I believe that every American citizen should take part in politics. The salvation of our country, in fact, rests upon our young men. They should take part in all elections, and especially should they attend the primaries. It is there that the chief chances for fraud are found, and the more we pay attention to the minor elections, the purer will our politics be. I believe it pays a young man to do this. It gives a man new acquaintances, and brings him into contact with business men, and with those on whom he has to depend for his living. It identifies him with the community in which he lives, and it is in all ways a good thing."

The Hobart family had always been affiliated with the Democratic party, and the section of the State in which he was brought up was overwhelmingly Democratic. When the family decision was made that this son should go to Paterson and enter the office of Socrates Tuttle, ex-Governor Parker warned his father that the step would lead his son into the Republican party. To this warning Mr. Tuttle made the significant reply: "That was done when he was sent to college." The young student began his political life on his own convictions as a Republican, and he never wavered in his political faith and allegiance. The issues at stake in the momentous days of his youth, as well as the ardent Republicanism of his instructor, settled the question as to the party in which he

should enroll his name, and to which he should give unwavering and unstinted devotion. From that party he received great honors, and to it he gave great services.

So manifest and efficient were the services of Mr. Hobart, and so evident was his popularity, all that his party had to offer was his for the asking. His nomination made his election sure. The only instance in which he was defeated, was when he accepted the complimentary nomination for United States Senator in a strongly Democratic legislature. When he was asked how he felt in such an unusual position, his reply was: "I do not worry about matters that do not come my way." In a short time he became the most influential leader of his party in the northern section of the State. The southern section was dominated by General Sewell, who possessed great influence both through his connection with the Pennsylvania Railroad, and his friendship with President Harrison, as well as through his own ability. He and Mr. Hobart were regarded by the public as rivals, and interested persons sought to excite jealousy in their minds. When General Sewell sought re-election as United States Senator, an effort was made to have Mr. Hobart contest the nomination in his own interest. His reply to this proposal was: "I am very much obliged to my friends, who occasionally find some vacant office, which they think I ought to have. But I can tell you how I would feel if I were in General Sewell's place. If I had once filled the

office as creditably as he has; and if I had noticed, as he must have done, that my services ought to be rewarded by another term in the United States Senate, I should consider it presumptuous on the part of anybody to endeavor to take away from me that to which I was so clearly entitled. As a citizen, as a Republican, as a soldier, and a faithful worker in the Republican cause, no one deserves more success than does General Sewell. I shall not expect to complicate my friends by asking them to cast complimentary votes for me." This generous and friendly attitude prevented a rivalry which would have affected the strength of the party, and perhaps it led later to the suppression of opposition to Mr. Hobart's plan to seat John W. Griggs, his friend and townsman, in the Governor's chair. In a series of talks between these two leaders on their homeward journey from Europe this question was discussed, and by the agreement then made, Mr. Griggs's nomination was made certain.

There can be no question that Mr. Hobart had a strong desire to become a United States Senator. But strong as was this desire, he would not attempt to gratify his ambition by defrauding another of his deserved honor, nor was he willing to gratify his honorable ambition by ignoble methods. When in 1883 a successor was to be elected to the late Senator John R. McPherson, the Democrats had on joint ballot in the Legislature a small majority. There was, however, disaffection in their ranks, and

five of the Democratic members approached Mr. Hobart with an offer to vote for him. These votes would have secured his election. But honor was stronger than ambition in his mind. He informed them that if they did not vote with their party he would release enough Republican votes to make the re-election of Mr. McPherson sure.

His rule of political action was fair play, even when resentment might be excused. A Democrat who had said some untrue things against him was seeking reappointment on a bi-partisan board of the State. One who desired the position asked Mr. Hobart to use his influence with Governor Griggs against the reappointment, on the ground of these injurious remarks. He replied: "This person who holds the position is a Democrat from principle and a good fellow. If he dislikes me that is his error. I will advise the Governor to reappoint him."

In the political campaign of 1896, Mr. Hobart was persuaded with some difficulty to make a short tour through New Jersey, and to speak in some of the principal towns. The trip was gratifying to him, as well as to the State leaders. He was received everywhere with cordiality, and made short but helpful speeches at various points. He was especially gratified with an enthusiastic reception at Long Branch. "I thought," he said, "the Long Branch people had forgotten long ago that I ever lived among them." His cheerful face, his pleasant voice, his well-chosen words, and his

deep convictions gave interest and weight to his speeches. Although when it was over he said: "Thank Heaven that is all done with," it was evident that he enjoyed the experience. He added, with a smile, "I did pretty well, after all, did n't I?"

As a member of the Legislature of New Jersey in both Houses, Mr. Hobart took a leading and influential part in the discussions and actions of these bodies, and rendered eminent service to his State. In the political book prepared for the McKinley campaign an important part of this service is thus described:

When he first served in the House, although one of the youngest members, he immediately took a leading part. The most important bill of that session (1873) was the General Railroad Law, which was designed to do away with the monopoly, which had for so many years made New Jersey a byword and reproach to all travellers across her soil. This measure of relief had been strenuously fought for many years by the lobbyists, but Mr. Hobart was one of its foremost supporters in the interests of the citizens of the entire State. So just and beneficent was this law that no corporation has ever dared to ask its repeal.

This service, connected with his frank and genial manner, led, more than anything else, to his election as Speaker of the Assembly in the following year. As chairman and member he served on important committees of both Houses; and in a period when some of the ablest men of the State were in the Legislature, he stood among the foremost. He was chairman of the Judiciary Com-

mittee for several terms, and was a member of the Committees on the Revision of the State Laws; on Industrial Schools; on Printing; on Fisheries; on Elections; on the State Library. Speaking of the period when he was the Speaker of the House, an influential newspaper of the State said: "The political machinery of the State never ran more smoothly or creditably, and members of the 'third house' with axes to grind never ran up against so many difficulties as they did in that year of grace. The hand of Mr. Hobart was not distinctly visible, but every jobber in legislation knew that it was on the throttle."

In his services in the Legislature he sought to reduce excessive official fees and expenses, and opposed special legislation. He obtained the enactment of a law, whereby, on the application of twenty-five freeholders to a judge, a summary judicial investigation of the affairs of a county might be made. This law has proved of great practical benefit in more than one instance. He was instrumental in the passage of an act which charged the sinking fund of the State with the yearly payment of all the interest, and a part of the principal of the State debt. This act was the cause of the removal of the State tax, and was the means of an annual saving to the State of one hundred thousand dollars. Through his efforts a commission was appointed to devise plans for the encouragement of the manufacture of ornamental and textile fabrics in the State. It has been the

means of inducing many manufacturers to locate their mills in New Jersey. This act led also to the establishment of a Bureau of Labor and Statistics. He strongly urged, but in vain, the passage of a bill for the arbitration of labor disputes. He brought about the enactment of a measure of great importance during the panic of 1873 to those who had built modest homes, lessening the costs of foreclosure and protecting the owner against undue pressure by his mortgagee.

As presiding officer in both the Assembly and Senate he won the approbation and esteem of both Houses and men of all parties in the State by his dignity in office, his knowledge of parliamentary law, his fairness, and his tact and courtesy. Rarely was an appeal taken from his decisions, and in no instance was the appeal sustained and his decision reversed. His good nature was unfailing, and his political opponents became personal friends. And this was not because he did not have convictions, nor because he was unwilling to speak freely of men and measures. He was frank in his expressions at all times, but his frankness was without meanness or venom. When a newspaper wrote to him asking his opinion in a political matter, he began his reply with these words: "I give you my opinion with pleasure, because there is no political nor mental reservation about it whatever." Faithful to his own party and fair to the opposing party, he made and kept friends on all sides. One of the newspapers of the day said at

the close of the national political campaign: "He made friends on both sides of the fence."

To no man is the credit due for the change of the political status of New Jersey more than to Mr. Hobart. Previous to this period New Jersey was regarded as a safe Democratic State. From 1852 to 1892, with two exceptions (in 1860 when the war between the States divided its vote, and in 1872 when Horace Greeley was the nominee of the Democratic party), the ten electoral votes of the State had always been cast for the nominees of that party. In 1892 President Cleveland received a plurality of 15,000; in 1895 Governor Griggs received a majority of 29,000. The change began to be manifested in 1893, when one of the Houses of the Legislature had a Republican majority, and in 1894 it was plainly evident, for both Houses were strongly Republican. In this year the State sent to Congress a solid delegation of eight Republicans and elected one Republican Senator. The final conflict was in the election of 1895, when the first Republican Governor since Marcus L. Ward's election in 1865 was chosen. In the Republican Convention of the State, Mr. Hobart in a speech of only two minutes put in nomination for Governor, his warm friend, John W. Griggs. He took charge of the management of the campaign. The canvass of Mr. Griggs was spirited and thorough. The character, ability, and eloquence of the candidate gave a tremendous impetus to the movement, which settled the question

with which party New Jersey was now to be enrolled.

For a few years Mr. Hobart held no official post, but he was not an hour out of the service of his party. From 1880 to 1891 he was chairman of the State Republican Committee. He resigned this post on the State Committee because of his heavy duties in the National Committee, to which he had been elected in 1884. In this committee he refused to become chairman, but served during several campaigns as vice-chairman and a member of the executive committee. With Chairman Stephen B. Elkins and B. F. Jones he bore a large part in the severe labors of the Blaine campaign. The New York *Graphic*, a Democratic paper, speaks of him as "the brainiest, shrewdest, and most virile man on the committee in the Harrison campaign." It adds: "Politically there is no Republican in New Jersey as strong as this sturdy, bright faced, genial gentleman." As delegate at large he attended the Republican conventions from 1876 to 1896. His name was mentioned for many offices during this period, both in the Cabinet and in some Embassy; but he never pressed his claims on the party he was serving so faithfully. And yet, while he was content to serve without reward, it is evident that he was becoming known in politics, as he was in business, as a man of character and ability, who could honorably and usefully fill any post to which he might be called.

CHAPTER VI

The Man and the Times

NO life can be estimated aright unless its environment is taken into account. The fullest life demands the fullest opportunity. The man must be found for the hour, but equally the hour must come for the man. Both the natural gifts and the training of Mr. Hobart fitted him to take an important part in the changing conditions of the times in which his active life was passed. Through the waste and exhaustion of the Civil War, now ended, the nation in the establishment of peace had come to the parting of the ways in its political and economic life. Its energies and resources, which had been absorbed in the struggle for national existence, were now released to find new fields of operation. The arrested development of natural resources, the demands for the well-being of city life, and the establishment of new industries called for the combination of wise and safe plans, large capital, and united efforts. The scale of activity had become immensely enlarged. Individual powers and capital could not meet the exigencies of the

new conditions. Men of probity and sagacity, of courage and legal knowledge, who could command confidence, were needed to unite genius and capital for these new and necessary enterprises. The movements of vast armies over wide fields, the fearful loss of life and waste of materials, the expenditure of enormous sums, and the risks of an immense debt had prepared the way for the adoption of large schemes, which involved hazard and required courage. Great projects were in the air, which would require years for accomplishment. Corporate action was a necessity of the times. The problem of the hour was to unite men of ideas and men of means in legal association under competent management so as to secure profitable results and retain public confidence. In such enterprises the savings of the working man and the wealth of the capitalist must be united in effort and in risk.

For such a condition of affairs Mr. Hobart was pre-eminently fitted. He had strict integrity, broad views, legal knowledge, wide acquaintance with men, and what was also necessary, the confidence of men of large capital. As his work on these lines was crowned with success in one undertaking after another, he was sought for counsel and direction by individuals and associations. And so highly were his opinions and practical plans valued that he became the counsel, the director, and the president in many of these corporations. In the very nature of the case, as in their inception, these

movements were not at once widely known. He gained an assured place and character in financial circles, as he did in political circles, before he became known to the nation. Gradually, but surely, he had acquired such an honorable reputation that his connection with an enterprise was regarded as an assurance of its soundness and success. However rapacious, and even dangerous some trusts have become, it is unquestionable that corporations were at that time, and are now, a necessity for the development of our national resources, and the safe and profitable employment of the capital of the poor as well as the rich.

Mr. Hobart's views on these points can be expressed in his own words at the time of his election to the Vice-Presidency:

The chances of fortune-making to-day are as good as when I started in life. We are on the edge of great changes in many lines. Look at the electric possibilities of to-day. What a field there is in electricity for fortune-making in the future! There is no telling what it will not accomplish, or what changes it may not make. Corporations and aggregations of capital do not make it impossible for a poor man to climb up. The rich man of to-day is the poor man of to-morrow. Fortunes are accumulating and disintegrating all the time. There are thousands of men making fortunes to-day. There are thousands who will lose them to-morrow. It is brains and work that tell. It has always been so, and it will always be so. I do not fear we will ever have a party of the rich and a party of the poor in this country.

In the great business movements of his day Mr. Hobart found his sphere of action, and gained fame

and fortune. The crowning point of his career was when he, almost simultaneously, was appointed one of three arbitrators by the Joint Traffic Railroad Association, and when, under his management, the State of New Jersey was revolutionized in its political views and placed in the column of the Republican party. The public recognition of his character and work, which placed him in the Vice-Presidential chair, was only the formal act of his coronation. It needs to be repeated that fortune and fame, influence and station, came to him not as a lucky chance, or as the result of consuming ambition, or at the expense of others' losses; but as the result of faithful work never relaxed, a wise choice of the field of his efforts, a sagacious and practical judgment, and a winning personality which secured the regard and confidence of those with whom he had to do. The steps by which he ascended were hard work, good will, sound judgment, and steady perseverance.

Busy public man as he had now become, he still held a distinct place in social life and in the domestic circle. He never lost his genial, sunny nature, his kindly disposition, his enjoyment of humor. He attracted persons to him in all the relations of life. The weighty responsibilities he had assumed did not destroy his power to enjoy the truest pleasures of life among his friends and in his home. He loved his home, and turned always to it as the dearest spot on earth. There all care was laid aside, and in the circle of the family he found

rest and enjoyment. With his changed circumstances the home life had broadened, but it ever retained the same open-hearted hospitality. Rarely was business spoken of in the home circle, and still more rarely was mention made of his successes and honors. He enjoyed life, and was glad to share his happiness with others. Few even of his most intimate friends knew how large a place he was filling in the great activities of the times. He spent no weary hours in anxious schemes or in tiresome efforts to advance his personal interests. He never appeared as a suppliant for favors. To those about him he was the same quiet, genial, neighborly man he was before his prosperity. He felt and took an interest in those about him, and in the affairs of the city in which he lived. He could always stop to say a pleasant word to a friend or to speak some word of sympathy to a poor man, whose name he always knew. He could do an act of kindness in such friendly spirit that it seemed a favor to him to accept it. He was interested in the benevolent and church work of the city, and ready to aid all who sought his help with his means. From its organization to the day of his death, he was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Church of the Redeemer, and the beautiful name which it bears was given to it at his suggestion.

It would be a mistake to suppose that during this period Mr. Hobart had no consciousness of his own powers, and of the position which he occupied with

its great possibilities. He had an honorable ambition to do his part in the work of the world and to enjoy a just reward from his labors. No right minded man could fail to have such a desire. But ambition, as it is usually understood, had no place in his heart. He was never ready to sacrifice the happiness of his home, or his good name, or his peace of conscience to gain wealth or place. He would do his best in the opportunities of life, and welcome what reward might come. To those who knew him best—and to these this was an afterthought—there seemed to be in his mind an undefined presentiment that a larger place was to be his. But this feeling never appeared in pretension, or in self-consuming efforts, and never led him to barter honor for honors. He was ready to pay the cost of labor for success, but not of humiliating flattery or deceitful words. Undoubtedly he realized his star was in the ascendant, but he was not unduly elated on the one hand, nor on the other hand did he shrink in fear from responsibilities and obligations. He pressed no claims for services rendered on business or political friends. He made no effort to be conspicuous, or to ingratiate himself with the populace. He enjoyed fully the present and awaited with composure the future. When he was honored with praise and position, he suffered no weak elevation of mind or change of manner. To those who met him daily he appeared unchanged. He was as truly a friend to all about him as ever. The words of the Great Teacher

found in him a new illustration. His ability and influence were more fully recognized for a time by those without than those within his own city.

CHAPTER VII

Convention at St. Louis—Nomination for Vice-President

AS the time approached for the Presidential election in 1896, the customary discussion of men and measures was taken up in the newspapers. The various State and city elections immediately preceding were scanned with interest by the leaders of both parties for indications of their relative strength. In New Jersey the elections had not been so favorable for the Republican party as they were in the remarkable campaign of Governor Griggs. To hold the State in the Republican ranks was an important matter for the party. The Republican leaders in the State realized that this could be done, if one of its citizens should have a place on the national ticket. Their thoughts and efforts were directed to this end. And Mr. Hobart was naturally selected for their candidate on account of his popularity and political influence.

The Republican State Convention which met at Trenton, on April 16th, recognized fully this condition, and was a unit in favor of presenting Mr. Hobart's name for the Vice-Presidency, and indeed

for the Presidency, if there should appear any way to obtain the nomination. As this appeared doubtful, a large majority favored the nomination of William McKinley for President. A motion was made in the convention to instruct the delegates from New Jersey to vote for McKinley and Hobart, as the nominees of the party. This motion was opposed with vehemence by General Sewell, who declared he would not accept an election as delegate, if the delegation were to be committed to specific candidates by the convention. His stand was taken not in opposition to Mr. Hobart's candidacy, but on the ground of custom and policy. The delegates uninstructed could couple Mr. Hobart's name with any successful nominee for President, but under the proposed instruction the nomination of Mr. Hobart must depend on the nomination of Major McKinley. It was well understood at the time that General Sewell strongly favored the nomination of his personal friend ex-President Harrison, who was favorable to Mr. Hobart's nomination. When McKinley was nominated Harrison sent word to the delegates from Indiana to vote for the New Jersey candidate. The action finally taken by the State convention shows the feeling of its members, and was as follows:

Relying upon the discretion of our delegates to voice the preference of the Republicans of New Jersey in the National Convention, we refrain from hampering their action by specific instructions, indulging at the same time the

hope that redeemed New Jersey may be represented on the national ticket in the person of the Honorable Garret A. Hobart.

It ought to be added that the whole delegation, with one exception, was enthusiastically in favor of Mr. Hobart, and labored with zeal and wisdom for his nomination, and that the vote for him in this convention was unanimous.

In the list of names presented in the newspapers as favored in their several States and worthy of nomination, were the names which were afterward presented in the National Convention: Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, who had been the very effective Speaker of the House of Representatives; William B. Allison, of Iowa, who as Congressman and now Senator had served in Congress for thirty-five years; Levi P. Morton, of New York, who had been a member of Congress, Minister to France, Vice-President of the United States, and Governor of New York; and William McKinley, of Ohio, who had served with distinction as an officer in the Civil War, had been both Congressman and Senator, Governor of his State, and was the author and promoter of a tariff bill which bore his name and was deservedly popular. As time passed, and these men were discussed as available candidates, it became increasingly evident that Major McKinley led them all in popular favor. Before the convention met enough instructed delegates from important States had been chosen to make him the assured nominee for President. Linked as his

name was with Mr. McKinley by his party, Mr. Hobart personally did not advocate any one for the Presidency. But he showed his political acumen by expressing his high regard for Major McKinley, and even more by declaring that despite the sentiment in the country in opposition to a third term for any President, Ex-President Cleveland was the strongest candidate whom the Democrats could present to the nation.

A still longer list of names was printed in the papers as possible candidates for Vice-President. The New York *Herald* published the names of twenty persons, who had been thus brought before the country. Among them some had been favored for the Presidency as well. From this list there were nominated in the Convention: Morgan G. Bulkley, of Connecticut, who had been Mayor of Hartford for four consecutive terms and Governor of the State; H. Clay Evans, of Tennessee, who had been a soldier in the Civil War, member of Congress, and First Assistant Postmaster-General; Charles Warren Lippett, of Rhode Island, then its Governor; General James A. Walker, of Virginia, who had been a Confederate soldier and was then the only Republican member of Congress from his State; and Garret A. Hobart, the story of whose life has been so far told.

If the men, both fit and willing to serve their country in these high offices, were many, the important issues dividing party opinion were few. The campaign of 1896 was fought on two main

issues. One was the ever-recurring question of the tariff, belittled by a question of graver importance at this time. The latter issue had importance on a moral side as well as a political. This was the question of an honest standard of value in the country; whether, with almost all commercial nations, it should be based on gold alone, or whether it should be a dual and unstable standard of gold and silver. It is difficult now to understand how there could be such a question raised and advocated by so many intelligent persons. It is to-day a dead issue. It was at that time a very living one. To estimate its serious character, it will be necessary to review the situation at that period.

To meet the enormous expenses of the Civil War, the Government was compelled to issue Treasury bonds, pledging the nation for their payment after specified dates, the understanding being that they should be paid on a gold basis. It is certain on no other basis could these bonds have been floated. As these issues increased in number and amount, the value of gold continually appreciated, until at its highest point it reached a premium of almost 300 per cent. The result necessarily was the disappearance of gold from circulation. It was in demand for payments due to other nations, and it was hoarded by individuals and institutions. For years the great majority of the people of this nation never saw a gold coin, and handled few silver ones. As a medium of circulation,

Treasury notes, even of smallest value, took the place of gold and silver. With the establishment of peace and the revival of trade, the difficulties of the situation constantly increased. To meet the need of a circulating medium, silver now came to be largely employed, and the mining of silver became an important and profitable industry in the Western States, especially in Colorado, Montana, and Nevada. When it became necessary for the country to decide on what basis the bonds, issued during the Civil War on a gold standard, should be redeemed and business should be transacted, the cry was raised from the silver-producing States for the recognition of silver as well as gold as a standard of value. The ratio of valuation was fixed in the demand at sixteen of silver to one of gold. This cry found an echo in the minds of many who were in debt, and of those who desired to depreciate the bonds of the nation. This was a ratio without precedent in recent history, and its adoption would have placed the business of the country on a basis of value differing from the great commercial nations of the world. On this basis the free and unlimited coinage of silver was advocated. Its advocates predicted from this course a period of prosperity to the nation, relief to every debtor, and an immense saving to the nation in the redemption of its bonds. The advocates of a gold standard of valuation predicted from such a course the disadvantage in business of a standard differing from all commercial nations,

the immense loss to the nation in a standard which lowered by about one half all obligations, and the dishonor to the country in redeeming its bonds at a lower valuation than that at which they had been accepted.

Under the influence of those interested in the production of silver, and from the necessity of its use as a circulating medium, Congress had recognized its commercial value, and had required the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase monthly certain amounts of silver on Government account. These purchases had come to exceed \$500,000,000 and the Treasury vaults were filled to overflowing with the metal. The price of silver naturally fell until the depreciation on these holdings reached the enormous amount of \$150,000,000. Still, under the law, these purchases were required to be made. It became necessary to adopt some course which should relieve a situation which was constantly growing worse. On what action should be taken the Republican and Democratic parties were divided. Many even in the Republican party came slowly to the view ultimately expressed in the platform of its convention. The question to-day is settled, but during the campaign it was debated most seriously.

On this question Mr. Hobart at once and unequivocally expressed his views in favor of a single gold standard. He said: "When a premium of forty-seven cents is offered on every fifty-three cents of silver held by the mine owners, it can

only be done at the expense of every man who has part or lot or share in the country's industry and wealth." On this basis there would be practically a scaling of fifty per cent of the national and state debts, individual indebtedness, banks' and savings banks' deposits, life and fire insurance contracts and fiduciary trusts, except where the gold standard was part of pre-existing contracts.

The Democratic party, under the leadership of William J. Bryan, who by a single adroit and eloquent speech in its National Convention made himself its nominee for President, advocated a bi-metal standard of gold and silver; the Republican party stood for the single standard, gold. It required conviction and courage to take this stand, for in a test vote on a silver bond bill in the House, a majority of the members from ten of the Western and Pacific States had voted in its favor. These States were California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming, and Washington. Any action which opposed the expressed views of the representatives of so many States endangered the success of the party. In the interest of party success many hesitated about committing the party to any definite statement on this question. A considerable number of Republicans were undecided in their own minds, and were at least half willing to make the experiment of a dual standard. No one was left in doubt for a moment as to Mr. Hobart's position on this question. No one even

heard him compromise his views. Unquestionably, as it proved, his uncompromising declarations became an important factor in causing his nomination, but every one did not think so at first. It was largely due to his firm utterances and influence in the National Committee that the party took a stand so decided and uncompromising. The people of the West especially, but also many all over the country, seemed bewitched with these financial vagaries. So greatly was public opinion affected, that Major McKinley questioned the advisability of a decided expression by the party in favor of the gold standard. Thus the matter stood before the convention met.

The National Committee, after a long hearing of the various claims of a number of cities, finally selected St. Louis as the place where the National Convention should be held. The Republicans of that city had obtained from its authorities the temporary cession of a part of Washington Park, on which they engaged to erect a building for the use of the convention at a cost of \$60,000, which would seat fourteen thousand persons. Great preparations were made to welcome large delegations. In these expectations they were disappointed, for so general was the conviction that Major McKinley would be nominated for President, that clubs which had expected to attend the convention and influence its action gave up the idea. An accident, which occurred during the erection of the building, threatened for a time to make neces-

sary a postponement of the day selected for the meeting. Happily, this was not necessary. The convention assembled on the 16th day of June, 1896, and was organized by the election of Charles W. Fairbanks as temporary chairman. There were present nine hundred and twenty-four delegates, and an equal number of alternates. For seven days preceding the meeting the National Committee had been occupied night and day in the attempt to settle the claims of rival delegations. After all their efforts appeals were taken to the convention, and the settlement of these various claims took up much time. The permanent organization was completed by the election of John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, as permanent chairman. The first, second, and a portion of the third day were occupied in settling the claims of delegates and determining the roll, the adoption of rules, and the formation of a platform. The anticipated trouble came upon the adoption of the financial plank presented by the committee, which was as follows:

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of a law providing for the redemption of specie payments in 1879. Since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency, or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the earth, which agreement we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such

agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be maintained. All of our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold; and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of the United States of all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of most of the enlightened nations of the earth.

This cautious utterance, with its impossible reservation, exhibits the convictions of the party, its endeavors to prevent a division, and at the same time its fears.

The leader of the silver advocates was the well known and respected Senator, Henry M. Teller, of Colorado. In an able and earnest speech he presented the views of the opposition, and offered a substitute favoring "the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of sixteen parts of silver to one of gold." A motion to lay the gold plank on the table was defeated by a large majority, 818½ votes being cast in opposition and 105½ in its favor. The gold plank was thus overwhelmingly sustained. Senator Teller then asked that a paper expressing the views of the opposition be heard. It was read by Senator Cannon, of Utah, and was signed by delegates from the silver States, Idaho, Utah, Montana, Dakota, and Nevada. The reading was followed by the withdrawal from the convention of about one hundred delegates. Their places were taken to some degree by alternates present.

After quiet had been restored, the regular order

of procedure was resumed, and the platform proposed by the committee was adopted. The roll of the States was then called for nominations of persons for President. With glowing eulogies the following persons were nominated: William B. Allison, of Iowa; Thomas B. Reed, of Maine; Levi P. Morton, of New York; William McKinley, of Ohio; and Matthew Stanley Quay, of Pennsylvania. The official ballot which followed showed 661½ votes for Major McKinley, and 239½ for all the other candidates, the next highest receiving 84 votes. At once the motion was made that the nomination of William McKinley be declared to be the unanimous action of the convention. The motion was adopted with great enthusiasm, and the chairman declared: "Gentlemen of the Convention, by authority of your unanimous vote I declare that William McKinley is the nominee of the Republican party for President of the United States."

The convention was thoroughly wearied with the great strain of these proceedings. But, worn out as the delegates were, it was felt better to proceed to the nomination of a Vice-President than to postpone the completion of their work to another day. In order to facilitate action, the nominating speeches were limited to fifteen minutes. At this point Mr. Hobart left his seat as delegate at large from New Jersey and retired from the convention, his substitute taking his place. The roll was then called for nominations for Vice-

President, and these persons were put in nomination: Governor Morgan B. Bulkley, of Connecticut; Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey; Governor Charles Warren Lippett, of Rhode Island; H. Clay Evans, of Tennessee; and General James A. Walker, of Virginia. On the roll-call of the States, Garret A. Hobart received $533\frac{1}{2}$ votes; and all the others $359\frac{1}{2}$, of which number H. Clay Evans received $280\frac{1}{2}$. As before, the nomination was made unanimous. The chair then made the announcement: "By virtue of the unanimous vote of this convention, and the authority vested in the chair, Garret A. Hobart is declared to be the nominee of the Republican party for Vice-President."

After a few necessary formal acts the convention adjourned sine die, leaving to the judgment of the nation the political declarations of the platform and the nominations of its candidates. Of both candidates the same expression was frequently used during the campaign: "Each one was most respected and admired where he was best known—in his own State."

Few men in the country were better fitted at this time to fill an influential place in public affairs than was Mr. Hobart. He had been trained in the school of necessity to labor; he had risen from simple conditions to affluence; he had experience as a presiding officer in the Legislature of his State; he had become accustomed to act in large affairs in business and politics; and he had preserved unaffected manners and kindly feelings.

He was ready to take a national view of affairs, and to fill a national place. The nation quickly recognized and approved his appreciation of the office of Vice-President and the fidelity with which he performed the duties of the office to which he was elected.

For the third time New Jersey was honored by a great party in the nomination of one of its distinguished citizens for Vice-President. Theodore Frelinghuysen on the ticket with Henry Clay in 1844 was defeated. William L. Dayton on the ticket with John Charles Frémont in 1856 was defeated. Garret A. Hobart on the ticket with William McKinley in 1896 was elected. No one can challenge the statement that Mr. Hobart was an important factor in the successful campaign of the Republican party.

CHAPTER VIII

Personal Views and Expressions in Reference to the Nomination

THE background of biography must be history, but the interest and value of history must largely be found in biography. In the exciting events, which occurred in the convention at St. Louis, the personality of Mr. Hobart is not lost. His good sense and self-control appear in every word and act. It is true that the political conditions in his State and his financial views had much to do with his nomination, but so also had his character and his popularity. The man here, as always, appears more important than the circumstances in which he is placed. It is in his own words we can learn best the workings of his mind, and fortunately some of the words uttered at this time have been preserved.

From the kindly hopes of his friends, the action of the State Convention, and the expressions of his fellow members of the National Committee, it became evident to Mr. Hobart that his nomination for Vice-President was a possibility, if not a probability. It was, however, by no means settled in his own mind that he desired the office,

and that he would give his consent to have his name presented as a candidate. It was entirely in character for him therefore at this point to satisfy his mind as to the reasonable prospect of success if he consented to allow his name to be presented as a candidate to the convention in St. Louis. Of the support of his own State, he had no doubt. With regard to the action of his party in the State convention, he said to a reporter: "I am aware the party is loyal to me. I want to say right here that no one could appreciate the action of the convention more than I do. It was a great honor that was conferred upon me, and while I never sought it, it is an honor no one has a right to refuse. Frankly let me state that the movement in my behalf was spontaneous. I never encouraged it. If the nomination for Vice-President were handed me now as the unanimous action of the National Convention, my inclination would be to decline it. But the sentiment of the State in my favor is so strong, and so kind in its expression, that I naturally am grateful, and shall place myself at the disposal of the host of friends who are working for my elevation to the Vice-Presidency."

To discover what were the feelings of the host of friends outside of New Jersey, he went to Washington to confer with leaders from other States. From Congressmen and members of the National Committee there present, he received an ovation and assurance that his nomination

would be gladly received in Alabama, Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. When a friend, seeing how things seemed turning, said, "So you are going to be McKinley's running mate," he replied in his characteristic way, as he had done before, "Not a doubt about it whatever." It was observed, however, that Mr. Hobart said little in this investigation of political conditions. He came to see, and not to seek pledges, or urge his claims. When asked about his candidacy he said: "I have not raised my finger for it, nor have I suggested it to any man." And when asked regarding the connection of his name with Major McKinley's, he replied: "My nomination is a personal matter—a tribute from my friends. It is entirely separate and distinct from Mr. McKinley's canvass."

Though his actions may seem in a way to contradict his words, it is true, nevertheless, that there was grave doubt in his own mind as to the course he should take. The shadow of a great sorrow rested upon the family from the recent death of an only daughter. To break up his home life and the habits of years, to lay aside his important business affairs, to undertake severe and anxious labors, to accept a position of little significance in the public mind, to enter on duties which were largely formal, might well cause him to pause. The matter was debated long and seriously in his own mind and in the family. The question concerned not only his feelings, but

the feelings of his wife as well. In case of his nomination, the privacy of grief must give way to the publicity of a contested campaign and, in case of success, of official life. With true devotion to her husband's duty and interests, the decision finally was left to Mr. Hobart. He hesitated and shrank more and more from the step as the nomination seemed more probable. The decision was finally reached that he would neither seek nor avoid the nomination. If it should come to him honorably, as the expressed wish of his party and friends, he would accept it and do his best to aid the ticket. If, on the other hand, he would be required to go into the arena and make a personal canvass for the nomination, he would withdraw his name.

From his own words his position can be best understood. As he said good-by to his wife at the station when he started for St. Louis, he gave expression to his real feelings: "It is a nice thing that my friends want my nomination, but really I do not want it, and do not know what to do about it." Coming back to the carriage, he added: "If I have enough votes to make my candidacy respectable, it will be all I want." He replied to a letter from the editor of *The Syracuse Post*, which said that it was the first paper in New York to advocate his nomination: "I wish I deserved all the good things that are said about me. But I do find with much satisfaction that the hard work done for the party is recognized by

the best men in the party. I am not an office-seeker, for I happen to have more of a retiring disposition than many would care to possess. Yet it is not unpleasant to be considered as eligible to high office." Immediately preceding the gathering of the Convention, he said in St. Louis in answer to inquiries as to his candidacy: "My delegation has not yet arrived, and it will not until to-morrow. Until I consult with my friends from New Jersey, I cannot say whether my name will be presented. Yes, it is true that the New Jersey Convention endorsed me as a candidate for Vice-President, but it will not be determined what will be done until the New Jersey delegates have had time to canvass the situation here on the ground. When the idea was first suggested, I allowed my friends to talk about it, and gave it a sort of approval, but now that I am here, and there may be a possibility of my nomination, I really am not sure I want to be a candidate."

After the nomination had taken place, and a great multitude thronged about the hotel where the nominee was staying, he appeared unperturbed by all the excitement. He said to those about him: "It is just a little too much for me to attempt to express myself just now, but I must say that my friends from New Jersey deserve a vast amount of credit for the manner in which they have fought this battle. I owe my success to them, and I shall certainly remember them and appreciate their noble efforts. I am proud of

the honor conferred upon my beloved State, and proud of the splendid work of the delegates who came here to represent it, and who have achieved so much. New Jersey, I firmly believe, is in the Republican column to stay, and the National Convention has clinched the matter. I shall at once get into the harness of the campaign, and use my best endeavors to further the election of Mr. McKinley."

Before leaving home for St. Louis Mr. Hobart entertained the New Jersey delegation at the Lawyers' Club in New York in order that they might confer together and make arrangements for the trip to that city and their stay there during the Convention. A committee was appointed at that time to make all the arrangements necessary. There was no political significance in the gathering. The delegates and their alternates stayed at the Planters' Hotel where they found Mr. Hobart, who had preceded them in order to serve in his place on the National Committee. The headquarters of the New Jersey delegation were in a building owned by ex-Governor Murphy, only four blocks from the hotel. In that building two floors were fitted up for the use of the delegation. Mr. Hobart's duties as a member of the National Committee, as well as a delegate to the Convention, required him to leave home on the 8th of June. These duties occupied his time so fully that he was seldom at the headquarters of the State delegation or in the Convention, though

he kept track of all that was going on. Robert P. Porter, who prepared the sketch of Mr. Hobart's life for the campaign book, and was in confidential communication with Mr. Hobart at St. Louis, said his repeated utterance was: "Select the strongest available man for the ticket, utterly regardless of my interests."

On his way to St. Louis Mr. Hobart met Mr. Quay, who was nominated for President, and who voluntarily pledged the votes of the Pennsylvania delegation to him for the Vice-Presidency. During the sessions of the Convention, Mr. Quay came to him and asked to be released from his pledge. With characteristic frankness and good nature, Mr. Hobart replied: "Certainly. But I tell you, Quay, I shall be nominated without the aid of your delegation." The delegation from Pennsylvania voted as a unit for him. His statement shows that he thoroughly understood the situation. He said to a friend after his return: "I was as certain of my nomination before the Convention was organized as I was after the nomination was made." This conviction had a substantial basis, for several States had expressed themselves in favor of his nomination, and assurances of support had been given by members of the National Committee and prominent political leaders.

His inmost feelings appear in the letters and telegrams sent to his wife from St. Louis. They show fatigue and haste, but all the more express his personal views and are therefore placed here

as they were written. He writes on June 11th: "Yesterday was a hard day. Every hour occupied with contests until midnight, and with the two previous nights in the cars when I had little sleep, I laid me down quite tuckered. You will know more by the New York papers, or as much as I can tell you. It is evident the combine is broken, and McKinley will be nominated early. Every hour we spend over contests makes the work of the Convention shorter and easier. I have been too busy to be homesick, but, to tell the honest truth, I am heart-sick over my own prospects. It looks to me I will be nominated for Vice-President whether I want it or not, and as I get nearer to the point where I may, I am dismayed at the thought. All the committee, judging from what they say, are very kind and good to me. I shall be overwhelmed if it does happen, and I am praying that Reed will say he will consent. If he does not, I fear I will not only get a respectable vote, but too many."

Again he writes on June 12th, at 7 A.M.: "Just a line to say I am still in the same condition of uncertainty and unrest. If I want a nomination, everything is going my way. But when I realize all that it means in work, worry, and loss of home and bliss, I am overcome, so overcome I am simply miserable. Perhaps it may come out for the best, and whichever way it comes without seeking I must bear. The excitement here over

these contests from all parts of the country is terrible. The papers, I assume, give you all the news; here, they give too much to suit me." An hour later on the same day he wrote: "I am about as miserable as I can be over this Vice-Presidency. I can make it easily, and for peace of mind and for quiet I think I ought not to press it. It may get beyond me before I know it, for it is growing here among delegates, many of whom take it for granted. It is getting so positive in many men's minds, that if it goes with a swing I will be in it for fair, and then I am miserable and our life for four months will not be worth living. I have made up my mind not to press, not to ask help from any friend, and discourage it utterly unless you want me to have it. Your instincts as to what it will mean to us will be correct. I have hardly slept in all the excitement here, and we do not get through with our work before twelve to one each morning. This must go on until Tuesday morning and then the Convention meets, which is also hard."

From the wife there came to him in reply to these letters cheering and helpful messages. When the news of his nomination was received, she expressed her devotion to his interests in the beautiful words of Ruth to Naomi: "Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou

diest, will I die, and there will I be buried. The Lord do so to me and more also, if aught but death part thee and me."

When the nomination was made, *The Chicago News* says, Mr. Hobart was eating his dinner at the Planters' Hotel. He quietly finished his meal, and departed as quietly as if nothing extraordinary had occurred.

Soon after the nomination hundreds of begging letters, so disgraceful to American self-respect, began to flow in upon him and Mrs. Hobart. Children and towns were named for him, and he was duly informed of the fact by admiring Republican parents and hopeful settlements. All must join in the hope that only in one family have twin girls been called by the names of Hoberta and Garretta.

The speeches made in the Convention putting Mr. Hobart's name in nomination will be found in Appendix I in this volume. The speech nominating him was made by Judge, now Governor, J. Franklin Fort, of New Jersey. J. Otis Humphrey, of Illinois, seconded the nomination. When the State of West Virginia was reached on the call of the roll, A. B. White also spoke in favor of the nomination.

After the campaign was over, and the Republican ticket had been elected, Mr. Hobart went to East Orange, where Governor Fort lived, to attend a public meeting. In a brief address he said:

The citizens of East Orange, among all their virtues, have at least one peculiar distinction. They have a gentleman, who is president of their club, who had the political effrontery and the nerve to nominate a man for the office of the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and whose arguments were so convincing and whose eloquence was so great that his friend, without merit, was nominated, elected, and lives to tell the tale in East Orange, and now he presents me in person to his friends and neighbors, evidently to prove all that he has said and continues to say was not true.

In the minutes of a speech prepared for a meeting of the students of Rutgers College (after the election) these words are found:

The victory won has been a victory of no party, nor of persons, but of principles. No man who believes in right principles, who believes in his country and in his country's honor, whether president, faculty, or students, can wonder at the excitement attending the late election. We may all congratulate ourselves upon the result of the election; particularly such men as I see before me, to whom the world looks for the best grade of intelligence, for the most exalted public opinion in questions of political economy, and to whom they look likewise for the settlement of any grave subject which affects the public welfare. It is right for you to rejoice, then, gentlemen, in the interest of the right settlement of the questions at issue, and, so far as it is proper, I beg to thank you sincerely for all that you have done, for all the colleges and men of learning have been to this great cause that has disturbed the country to its very foundations. Our best campaign help has come from you, who are the cultured, the educated, the sincerely honest and independent thinkers of the Republic, as well as the independent voters of the land. You were patriots before you were Republicans, before you were Democrats, before

you were adherents of any political party. I venture to think this college almost solidly, in common with the officers and students of all the colleges of the land, stood for the platform and principles adopted at St. Louis.

The vote in New Jersey shows what the intelligent, right-thinking, conservative citizens can do when aroused. The most hopeful Republican estimates had predicted a majority of 30,000. The plurality of nearly 90,000 votes in New Jersey given for the Republican ticket was something unheard of, something undreamed of; and it was not a triumph of men or of party merely, but of principles upheld by sincere men.

CHAPTER IX

Reception of the Nomination in Paterson

ALTHOUGH the Republican State Convention had instructed its delegates to do all in their power to secure the nomination of Mr. Hobart for Vice-President, and the signs of the times seemed favorable, so many were the possible changes from uncertain political conditions, it was, after all, with a start of surprise in his own city and in the State that the news was received that he had been chosen. Neither the State in which he was born, nor the city in which he had lived more than thirty years, had realized how widely he had become known, and how highly he was esteemed by leading men in financial and political circles. The unostentatious life he led and the simplicity of his manner made his fellow citizens regard him as a good friend and pleasant neighbor rather than a man of large affairs and national reputation. The ease with which his nomination was secured and the expressions of approval from prominent men and newspapers throughout the country awakened them to a recognition of the commanding position which he occupied. Here and there a newspaper flippantly

asked, "Who is Hobart?" The answer was quickly given in his honorable record, the large vote given to him in his native State, his management of the campaign, and the strength and wisdom which he exhibited in the duties of the office which he filled. The whole nation came to know who he was, and gave to him respect and confidence, and in addition, what he always won, affection. He proved the sentiment enunciated at the time, that "there is no man big enough to be Vice-President who is not big enough to be President." A man who could obtain a plurality of nearly 90,000 votes in a State a few years before counted with certainty in the Democratic column, was no ordinary man. In some places in the State the vote for him was almost unanimous. In the town of East Orange, for example, eighty per cent of the votes were cast for McKinley and Hobart.

At St. Louis, after the nomination, he received many congratulations and promises from the New Jersey delegates of what would be done for him at the polls. His journey homeward showed the interest which his nomination had already excited. He returned to Paterson with the New Jersey delegation on a special train, sharing the private car of General Sewell. The train attracted much attention, and he was cheered along the whole route. He found on his return letters, telegrams, and telephone messages of congratulation by hundreds and thousands. Weary and exhausted

as he was, he was not allowed to rest. His friends, Democrats as well as Republicans, came in crowds to wish him success. The ubiquitous reporter could not be shut out. To one of them he said on the morning after his return: "I felt just as tired last night as I could feel. There was excitement in St. Louis all the time I was there. It seems as though I never spent a week in my life in which I got less sleep. The meetings of the National Committee were long and exciting. Some of them lasted far into the morning. Then there was the excitement incident to my nomination, and finally came the demonstrations in my honor at St. Louis and all the way home. All along the route there were cheering, hand-shaking; and jubilation. It would be impossible for any man to receive such treatment and not be affected by it. I cannot help feeling pleased at the regard which the people of my city are showing for me. To be thought well of by the people with whom I associate is dearer to me than the plaudits I received at St. Louis and along the route to Paterson. The former are based on what is known about me; the latter were based on what had been heard and said about me." Certain it is that no nomination could have been more acceptable to the voters in the State of New Jersey.

When the news was received at Paterson at 7:41 in the evening of June 18th, "Hobart's nomination unanimous," the city became delirious with joy. The streets on which the newspaper

offices were located were impassable from the crowds awaiting tidings from the Convention. In ten minutes after the news was received an extra edition of *The Press* was issued. One of the daily papers on the following morning described the scenes of the previous evening in these words: "Nothing that could be done to show the gratitude of the people of Paterson was left undone, and all that was done was done noisily. Cheers, fire-crackers, sky-rockets, Roman candles, guns, church bells, factory whistles, drums, and brass bands were brought into play. The supply of fireworks in the city was soon exhausted and messengers were hurried to Passaic for more." Trains of illuminated trolley cars with bands and shouting citizens swept over the city lines. The whole population of the city poured into the streets. About his residence the streets were thronged. In the home Mrs. Hobart welcomed her many friends who, irrespective of party lines, came to congratulate her on the honor received by her husband. In almost his very words she expressed her own feelings, showing the complete identity of thought between them, when she replied to their kind words: "I am more pleased to find such a feeling among his friends and neighbors than to receive the news of his nomination."

These spontaneous expressions of regard for Mr. Hobart and for the honor to the city through him were felt to be inadequate. There was a demand on all sides for some formal and dignified demons-

stration of the respect and regard felt for him by his fellow citizens. A public reception was therefore planned in which, without regard to party affiliations, all might unite. The great armory, belonging to the State, in which 15,000 persons could find place, was obtained for this purpose. Large as was the building, it could not contain half of those who desired to be present. When it was filled to its utmost capacity the adjacent streets were still crowded. Large numbers of people came from the neighboring towns of Hackensack and Passaic, of Jersey City, Newark, and Elizabeth. Associations with bands and banners paraded the streets while the exercises in the armory were going on. Robert P. Porter, who was present, wrote to *The Cleveland World*: "I have never seen such a throng and such enthusiasm as that exhibited last night for Garret A. Hobart by his fellow townsmen. Over 15,000 people assembled under one roof to do him homage. The enormous armory was packed with a mighty throng, which stood throughout the proceedings. It was a scene never to be forgotten. Lifelong Democrats vied with lifelong Republicans to do this plain, simple, modest man honor. He made one of the most appropriate speeches ever heard for such an occasion."

The reception was held on the evening of June 22, 1896. Ex-Judge John Hopper, an old and highly respected citizen and a lifelong Democrat, called the meeting to order and proposed the

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Mayor, Christian Braun, also a Democrat, as the presiding officer. John W. Griggs, Governor of the State and the warm personal friend and political associate of Mr. Hobart, made the address of welcome and congratulation. Judge Hopper said:

It falls upon me to say that during all these years I have lived in Paterson I have never seen an occasion such as this. The people of Paterson, without distinction of party, sex, age, race, color, or creed, have assembled here to-night to honor our esteemed fellow citizen, Garret A. Hobart. My duty here is very simple and plain, but before doing it I cannot help express my personal appreciation of the honor that has occasioned this demonstration to-night. It is a great pleasure, indeed, to know that one of our fellow citizens has received this distinguished honor of being nominated for the second highest office in the United States. And we are here to-night for the purpose of showing our appreciation of that honor.

Mayor Braun was then introduced, and said:

It gives me great pleasure in responding to your invitation to preside at this meeting, and I thank you for this great honor. As I understand it, this is not a political gathering; it is a meeting that has no political significance. Without regard to party we meet here to-night to show our esteem, and to congratulate our old friend and neighbor, Garret A. Hobart, on his nomination for the high office of Vice-President of the United States. We are all glad that such an honor has fallen on one of our fellow citizens, and we all look upon it as an honor to our community.

The Mayor then introduced Governor Griggs, who spoke as follows:

If you ever visit Westminster Abbey, and ask for the monument of Sir Christopher Wren, you will be told to look around you; and if any one wants to know the esteem the regard, the affection, the love of the city of Paterson for Garret A. Hobart, we simply say to him, "Look around you." This unprecedented gathering of people of all political parties is a testimonial of honest character, and of the honor and affection that the people of this city have for our distinguished townsman.

Such demonstrations, so universal, so profound, are usually reserved to be bestowed only upon the honored dead. Happy fortune for our friend, that now, in the meridian of his life, he can see this testimony of your universal esteem.

For thirty years and more he has lived and wrought among us, working out his destiny. During that time, the people of this county have four times chosen him to represent them in official stations; and each time, with more than ordinary ability, he has reflected honor and credit upon those that sent him to the halls of legislation. Now, out of sixty millions of people, out of forty-five great States of the Union, a great political party has selected him as worthy to be linked with those other great Jersey-men—Theodore Frelinghuysen and William L. Dayton—as fit to be the heir-apparent of the Presidency of the United States.

In this honor, so deserved and so received by him, we all rejoice. Though we differ in political faith, though our political hopes are not the same, yet those of us that agree politically with him, if his election shall follow his nomination, shall glory in his deserved elevation; and those that disagree with him will know that if he succeeds, the nation will have a capable, a worthy, and an efficient servant.

But, as I have said, this is not a partisan demonstration. It is, Mr. Hobart, the welcome of a city whose people are all your friends. It is the voices of your neighbors up-

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lifted in harmony to testify the pride, the glory, the affection that they have for you and in you. The sounds that have enlivened our streets since last Thursday night are

“Sounds as though some fair city with one voice
Around a King returning from his wars.”

I am glad to give you the heartfelt greeting of your fellow citizens, to assure you of their confidence and esteem, to tell you that they know your worth, and that they know that to you there is more dread in praise than in criticism.

God bless you and keep you! And whatever honors more the future may bring to you, we, your fellow townsmen, the people of Paterson, hope to share by reflected light, as we know you will deserve them all, and wear them well.

Mr. Hobart, replying to these speeches, said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends and Neighbors of the City of Paterson:

If there ever was a time in my life when I was embarrassed, this is the exact moment. I have often felt and wished that I possessed the gift of oratory and the grace of diction which our Governor has to such full extent, but I have it not; and in the plainest words possible, my friends, only can I offer for this magnificent testimonial, this beautiful tribute to me and to the State of New Jersey, which in some degree I represent, my profound, my deepest thanks for all the goodness, for all the esteem, and for all the confidence which you seem to have in me. I would rather to-night, my friends, have the confidence and esteem of my fellow citizens of this city, including the men of both political parties, than to have any office in the gift of the people. It is only the non-partisan aspect of this demonstration that makes it possible for me to be here

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at all to-night. Under other circumstances it would neither be proper nor opportune for me to address you.

I have lived in the city of Paterson for thirty years and more, and during all that time I have enjoyed the confidence and esteem of Democrats about me—like my venerable friend, Judge John Hopper (turning to Judge Hopper and shaking his hand amid great applause), the first friend that I had when I came to the city of Paterson. I have enjoyed the confidence and esteem of men like Mayor Braun and Ex-Mayor Barnet, of Bernard Katz and Philip Katz, of William B. Gourley, Cornelius Cadmus, James Inglis, jr., of Michael Dunn, of Hugh Kerr, and hosts of other leading Democrats from the moment that I came to the city of Paterson, and I have never lost the friendship of a single one up to this time. I would rather have the confidence and esteem and friendship of such men than to occupy any office in the gift of the people of this nation.

As this is not a political demonstration, permit me a single moment of reminiscence. When I came to the city of Paterson, a boy twenty years old, there were but twenty-five thousand people in this city; there were no hospitals; there were hardly any streets; there were no surrounding macadamized roads; there were no railroads; and there were but few churches. What a marvellous change has come over us since! In thirty years the population has grown to one hundred thousand people; we have four daily papers; one hundred miles of macadamized roads, and fifty miles of paved streets; churches without number; children's day nurseries and hospitals; all the conveniences of city life; fifty miles of trolley roads taking the people quickly and quietly to their homes.

Now the point I desire to make, my friends, and the one point,—is the importance of civic pride and public spirit, which has produced these marvellous changes in

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our city in that time. I have been guilty myself of some of that civic pride in the city of my adoption, and the city of my choice, and I rejoice in it. I invoke you, Democrats and Republicans alike, to do even more than you have done, to manifest more civic pride and more public spirit to make the city of Paterson, what it ought to be—the city of the future; to make it possible to have larger factories and more of them, to bring more people here, to make hundreds of thousands of homes more than there are now; and make it what it is destined to be—the first city in the State of New Jersey. Fellow citizens, whatever I am, whatever I am to be, whatever position in life may come to me, to this, with you, I am glad to dedicate myself.

Mr. Chairman, it has been made known to you that I have been nominated for a great office. I do not say that it is immaterial what becomes of the election, but I do say this: if I shall be called upon to exercise the functions of this office, I shall not need to tell the citizens of Paterson that I will do it with all the energy, with all the vigor, with all the fidelity, with all the power with which God has blessed me. And if, in the changes of politics that take place, other names than those selected at St. Louis shall be chosen to preside for four years over the destinies of this nation, I shall bow to the will of the nation, and shall still hope to live in Paterson, to be your good friend, and kind neighbor, and your esteemed fellow citizen. Whatever character I have has been made in the city of Paterson, and belongs here. Whatever of repute I have, or whatever I shall have conferred upon me, is due to my associations with the people of the city of Paterson, and to their confidence and esteem.

In speaking of Paterson, I feel as Robert Burns felt when he spoke of Glencairn, and, perhaps, I cannot better express my idea than by concluding with his lines:

“ The bridegroom may forget the bride
Was made his wedded wife yestreen;
The monarch may forget the crown
That on his head an hour has been;
The mother may forget the child
That smiles sae sweetly on her knee;
But I 'll remember thee, Glencairn,
And a' that thou hast done for me.”

CHAPTER X

The Campaign

THE Presidential campaign of 1896 was prosecuted with vigor by both the Republican and Democratic parties. Five other parties placed candidates in the field, but as their total votes were less than half a million they were negligible quantities. The grave importance of the questions at issue, and the honorable character of the candidates presented by the two great parties, made the campaign singularly free from personalities and mean vituperation. The conflict was fought out fairly and squarely on the principles for which these two great parties stood. The two main issues of the tariff and the currency were plain questions and easily stated. The tariff, always of importance in a manufacturing State like New Jersey, was overshadowed at this time by the currency question. This was a moral, as well as an economic question. It deserves to be restated, both because it was the vital issue of the campaign, and because so many even of the Republican party were deluded by their supposed interests and by specious arguments to favor the adoption of a dual standard. Stripped of all

that might confuse the judgment, it contained the plain issue whether a debt could be contracted on one valuation, and honestly cancelled on a lower valuation; contracted on a gold standard, cancelled on a debased silver standard. To put the question in another form: Should sixteen ounces of silver, stamped as a coin by the government, be made the equivalent of one ounce of gold, when in the open market it would require thirty-two ounces? The market value of a silver dollar as bullion was at that time about fifty-three cents. Under an act of Congress fixing the amount and rate of purchase, the Government had bought 460,000,000 ounces of silver. During this period the value of the metal had depreciated from \$1.15 to .68 an ounce. A debtor, if the silver standard was established, could compel the creditor to receive the silver dollar to pay for the gold dollar. Stated in this bald form, it seems impossible that it could be made a party issue. The experience of the world has proved that no coin can command in the market of the world more than the exact value of the materials composing it.

The question is dead to-day, as are many of those who contested it, but in that campaign it was a live question. The Republican party for a time hesitated to make it an issue. The Western States were divided on this subject, the Middle-Western States uncertain, and only after a time did the Eastern States stand openly and firmly for true policy and honesty. Ohio, Mr. McKinley's

own State, in its State Convention, held previous to the National Convention, made a compromising declaration, in favor of bimetallism in some form; and for a time, as has been said, Major McKinley was undecided how far it was wise for the party to go in favor of a single gold standard. He questioned whether Mr. Hobart's statements in his letter of acceptance did not go too far in that direction. This view, however, he held only for a short time. During the campaign he advocated the gold standard, and all his official utterances and actions as President were decided on this question. It required at the outset firm conviction and true courage to take an uncompromising position. This Mr. Hobart did at the risk of success. He never showed doubt or hesitancy. His attitude and utterances largely determined the policy of the Republican party.

In the conduct of the campaign it was wisely arranged that Major McKinley should speak for the party, while Mr. Hobart should devote his energies and experience to the management of the campaign. This was a field which he well knew, and which from his experience and success he was most competent to occupy. Many political associations and companies of citizens from different States went to Canton, where Major McKinley resided, and were addressed on the questions at issue with wise and stirring words. But while Mr. Hobart was busy in the line of work committed to him, he too did important work on this line.

He visited the most important cities of his own State, and made several convincing speeches. The notes prepared for these speeches still remain. It is not always possible now to be certain whether the exact words of these minutes were uttered by him, but it is certain they express his sentiments. In his formal letter of acceptance of his nomination, in which his views are fully stated, and which is placed in Appendix III. of this book, can be found a full and complete discussion of the issues in that campaign. Some extracts from speeches made when occasion compelled, may fitly find a place here. It is also of interest to mark that in all he said and did he preserved an equable mind. A Democratic paper said of him after the campaign was closed: "Another notable thing about the Vice-President is the fact that in all his speeches and conversations he never speaks insultingly of the opposite party, but is the same man to all parties and to all creeds. There was never anything unkind or abusive about his nature, and therefore all parties rejoice in his elevation. We do not believe any man ever heard Mr. Hobart speak disparagingly of any person. A man who always has a good word for everybody, and never expresses ill feeling toward a fellow mortal, cannot fail of being popular."

In a paper marked "Speech at Canton" these words are found. They were probably spoken when he visited the head of the ticket after the nomination.

"This is not the first time the Republican party has led in New Jersey the struggle for sound money and for the principles of protection. No contest in which you and I have been called to participate has equalled in gravity that upon which we are entering. The gold standard of value must definitely and finally anchor in law and in governmental administration. And along with this we must restore to our domestic industries that measure of protection that free-trade theorists have denied them. Whatever may be my part in this work, I am willing to undertake and carry out to the fullest extent possible. And I stand here to say that in other respects and in all other matters, which the platform of our party embodies, I stand upon it, and believe these principles are best for the country and the nation." He then drew up in parallel columns his views of the issues and their results, as follows:

ON ONE SIDE.

Dishonor,
Free Trade,
Breaking down the Supreme Court,
A Silver Standard at the ratio of 16 to 1,
Disorder, if not anarchy.

ON THE OTHER SIDE.

Honor,
Protection,
Upholding the Court,
The Gold Standard,
National order.

In another memorandum these words are

written: "You cannot coin a good dollar, good anywhere in the world, out of forty or fifty cents of silver. Any Greenbacker or Populist who purposes the making of a law which insists that the coinage of silver can thus be regulated, is a commercial idiot. Without party bias there are some things on which we all ought always to stand—a good and honest and enduring currency; a national credit undefiled; a contented and happy people with work in abundance."

In the outline of a speech in Newark he says: "I feel the Republican party is right in its principles when those principles are advocated by the best intelligence and the best thought of the best men in this land; and when it is opposed by all the anarchists and socialists. We are not fighting the old Democratic party, nor is the Republican party fighting alone. Think of the men you know and would trust, whom you have been accustomed to look upon as Democrats. When the result of the election is finally and fully known, the greatest lesson in political morality will be taught that was ever taught in America."

On the occasion of a political meeting in Paterson addressed by Senator Frye, who on several occasions spoke to its citizens with great effect, Mr. Hobart said: "When the campaign opened, I said I would rather have your confidence, your esteem, and your support than any office. It seems I had it then, and have it still; and this rejoices my heart more than all else. The issues

of this campaign have so overshadowed the personality of the candidates that they have not been abused. The principles have been so striking, so important—involving as they did all there was of life and hope in the government—its honor, its good name, its credit—that persons did not count. The people were not ready for a financial revolution, or a reduced value of the dollars they earned. They are not ready now. They would vote for no currency not as good as gold. They will not now.”

The committee appointed by the National Convention formally to notify Mr. Hobart of his nomination went to Paterson on July 7, 1896. To mark the occasion and gratify his friends, a large number of ladies and gentlemen were invited to be present. It was a delightful day, and the formal exercises took place on the broad piazza of his home, enabling more persons to hear the speeches. These will be found in Appendix II. The address of notification was made by Charles W. Fairbanks, Senator from Indiana. Mr. Hobart's reply immediately followed. After these formal exercises the committee and the invited guests were hospitably entertained, and the company separated with cordial good wishes and high hopes for the success of the ticket. Of Mr. Hobart's speech the *New York Evening Post* said: “It was the boldest, squarest, and most explicit indorsement of the gold standard; the frankest admission that the money question is

to be the one issue of the campaign; that no compromise on this question is tolerable or possible; but it must be fought out and settled now."

The letter of acceptance, which will be found in full in Appendix III, is on the same lines and as uncompromising. It treats in detail the aspect of the political field from the Republican point of view. Two extracts from his formal utterances are given here, partly because of their incisive force and partly because they were largely quoted during the campaign.

On the tariff question he said, on the occasion of his notification: "Protection will not only build up important industries from small beginnings, but these and all other industries flourish or languish in proportion as protection is maintained or withdrawn. I have seen it indisputably proved that the prosperity of the farmer, merchant, and all other classes of citizens goes hand in hand with the manufacturer and the mechanic. I am fully persuaded that what we need most of all to remove the business paralysis that afflicts this country is the restoration of a policy which, while affording ample revenue to meet the expenses of the Government, will reopen American workshops on full time, with full hands, with operatives paid good wages in honest dollars. And this can only come under a tariff which will hold the interest of our own people paramount in our political and commercial institutions."

On the gold standard, this sentence from his

letter of acceptance was quoted widely, as a clear and succinct expression of the question: "Gold is the standard in all commercial nations. All financial transactions of whatever character, all business enterprises, all individual or corporate investments are adjusted to it; an honest dollar, worth one hundred cents everywhere, cannot be coined out of 53 cents of silver, plus a legislative fiat."

On the same day on which his letter of acceptance was given to the public, Mr. Bryan's letter appeared. These letters presented a remarkable contrast in the clear statements of the one, and the confused statements of the other. The *New York Press*, commenting on these two declarations, said: "Never before in one day were two deliverances on one subject so startlingly dissimilar, not merely in the propositions they advance, but in their treatment of facts, which lie at the bottom of the controversy. Mr. Bryan's letter does not touch these facts at all. He recommends a leap in the dark, but presents nothing—not even darkness—to land upon." The *Newark Advertiser* said: "The views of Mr. Hobart are not academic or theoretical, but were formed by a remarkably acute mind in the school of experience." The *Dry Goods Economist* commented on the letter in the same strain: "In Mr. Hobart's letter is a clear, convincing, unembellished statement of easily verified facts, and the natural and logical deductions therefrom. Much of what he

says is new only in form, but in many instances that form is happy, epigrammatic, and eminently calculated to drive home into the minds of our citizens the facts it clothes." And one other quotation may be added. It is taken from the New York *Morning Advertiser*: "It is doubtful whether any letter of acceptance within the memory of living men has been more explicit on a single subject than the remarkable contribution of the Honorable G. A. Hobart to the currency question."

Reference has already been made to the fact that the views of Major McKinley were not so decided on the gold question as those of Mr. Hobart. It needs to be remembered that Major McKinley had not had the same business training and experience which Mr. Hobart had enjoyed for years. Before Mr. Hobart's letter was printed, it was thought at Canton that it would be wise to modify some of its statements. To this he made reply: "I think I know the sentiment of Eastern men better than you can, and with this knowledge and my convictions I must retain the statements as I have written them." It was not long before Major McKinley accepted their truth and the wisdom of the clear expression of them made by Mr. Hobart. But necessarily the difference of statement was commented upon by the papers. The New York *Sun* said, referring to Mr. Hobart's letter: "This is a declaration which should have come from the lips of Major McKinley months

ago. The Major has gradually worked up to a statement practically meaning about the same thing. But he has as yet at no time enunciated the fundamental truths respecting the great issue of the campaign comparable for force and clearness with what Mr. Hobart has said." The *Evening Post* of New York commented on the letter thus: "If Mr. Hobart was practically unknown to the country, he is known now. At Paterson the word gold was spoken and the heavens did not fall. It is a short word, easy to pronounce, and will roll as trippingly from the tongue as any of the Major's beatings about the bush." The Republican papers in the Eastern States generally spoke in the highest terms of approval of the letter as containing "explicit and forceful utterances on the grave points at issue."

The letter of acceptance was a full and frank expression of his views. It commanded respect even from those who opposed the views therein expressed. The Republican party received it with strong approbation, and made effective use of it in the campaign. The *New York Mail and Express* says in commenting upon it: "Evasion, compromise, and haziness of expression are alike foreign to the running mate of William McKinley. No clearer or more terse exposition of the financial question than his has been given us during the present campaign. In every phase of his letter he rises above the partisan and enters the realm of statesmanship. We commend it to the study

of all thoughtful men who love their country and are desirous of furthering its welfare." To one who desires to understand the problems of that political campaign this letter will be an invaluable aid.

CHAPTER XI

The Election—Removal to Washington

AS the day of the election approached, the interest of the nation deepened in the questions which divided the two leading parties of the country. The great issue of the currency had been fully discussed, and its bearings on commercial interests and national morals had come to be more fully understood. The bold and uncompromising attitude taken by Mr. Hobart, as well as his skilful management of the campaign, did much to secure victory for the ticket and the principles for which it stood. He fairly won his place as Vice-President by his courage, wisdom, and labors during the campaign. But he did more, he gained the confidence and admiration of the nation. There came to be a general recognition of his ability and an assurance that by his election the office of Vice-President would be filled by one who would give it dignity and importance. He entered on the duties of his office with public approbation and the prestige of success.

In his own State and especially in his own city the interest was intense, as his overwhelming

majorities proved. The political status of New Jersey as a Republican state was confirmed, and the pledges made by those who nominated him in the St. Louis Convention were redeemed.

During this period, Mr. Hobart preserved a quiet assurance of the result. He never expressed a doubt of the election of the Republican ticket or displayed anxiety. Day by day he took his full share of labor as a member of the National Committee, attended to his business affairs as best he could, and quietly went on his way. Defeat would not have depressed him, for victory did not elate him. He would have grieved more for his party and his country than for himself, had he been defeated. He did all that was in his power to obtain the result desired, and then confidently awaited the result. He was the only Vice-President who conducted his own campaign.

On the morning of the day of election he rose early and, after breakfast and a glance at the daily papers, walked to the polling booth near his house, and taking a place in the line of voters deposited his ballot. A little later he went to his office, and occupied himself with business until noon. His quiet demeanor led a reporter from *The New York World* to say to him: "You do not seem to be much disturbed, Mr. Hobart; have you no fears as to the result?" "None at all," he replied. "I have no doubt as to the result, and never have had since the nominations were made." After luncheon at home, he returned to



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his office, attended a meeting of business men appointed for that day, transacted other business, received those who called, and at five o'clock returned to his home.

As the evening closed in, many friends gathered at his home to learn the earliest and most authentic news, and to be among the first to congratulate him. In order to receive the earliest news, and to be in touch with all parts of the country, three telegraph wires had been run into the house, connecting with the headquarters of the General Committee and of the State, and with the home of Major McKinley at Canton. Experienced operators were ready to receive the messages as fast as they should arrive. Several telephones enabled those present to communicate the news to anxious friends in and near the city. The first message was received at 6:07, and read: "City of Chicago, First Precinct, Fourth Ward—always Democratic—McKinley 297; Bryan 111." Whereupon, Mr. Hobart said: "If they are all going that way, what will the Republican plurality be?" Early indications showed gains even in the Southern States of Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Maryland. From moment to moment the news came in rapidly and became more encouraging and definite, and at 8:30 Mr. Hobart, as fresh messages were handed him, said: "The battle is won." The battle had indeed been won. The excitement of those present grew with each announcement. As usual in that home,

preparations had been made to entertain those present, but the visitors were too excited to eat. After midnight all doubt of the result was dispelled, and the company dispersed with hearty congratulations and good wishes for the successful candidate. Had a total stranger been admitted to that home during those hours, he could not have guessed, from any excitement manifested, who among the throng was the one most interested in the result.

A few days after the election, he said: "I do not consider my election a personal victory. It is the triumph of American patriotism, and it belongs to no party. In thousands and thousands of cases voters have abjured their past political creeds and affiliations, and voted as their consciences dictated for the supremacy of law and to maintain the national honor." He said at another time: "I am deeply sensible of the great debt I owe the press and the voters of the United States, and it will be my endeavor to make manifest my grateful appreciation of the hearty support accorded me."

The official returns of the election gave 7,100,369 votes for the Republican ticket, and 6,497,325 for the Democratic ticket. There was therefore a plurality for McKinley and Hobart of 603,044. The total number of votes cast in this election was 13,914,494. The majority for the Republican candidates was 286,244. The State of New Jersey, in addition to the enormous majority of 90,000

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votes, sent to Washington a solid delegation of eight Republican Congressmen.

In the interval between the election and his inauguration on the fourth of March, Mr. Hobart was fully occupied with the settlement of many business affairs preparatory to his long absence; in searching for a house in Washington where he could gratify his social feelings and elevate the office he was to fill by a wise hospitality; and, by no means least important, in seeking to understand the powers of his office and the duties it imposed. It was entirely in accord with his habits to make a careful study of the situation, and thus to fit himself as far as he could for what he would be called to do. For this purpose he studied with care the conduct of his predecessors, and the rules and customs of the Senate over which he was now to preside. He sought advice from those whom he regarded as best qualified to give it. Then with his practical mind and perfect knowledge of public feeling he prepared his inaugural address, understanding full well how it might be regarded.

It was suggested by devoted adherents, and the matter was even brought before the Legislature, that the whole National Guard of New Jersey should be sent to Washington to do Mr. Hobart honor. This was not in accord with his judgment, and was wisely given up. But the Second Regiment of the State, whose headquarters were at Paterson, went to Washington and took part in the inaugural parade.

Accompanied by his family and by a few personal friends, Mr. Hobart left his home and private life, on the morning of March 2, 1897, to enter on new and untried scenes and duties. His business affairs had been carefully arranged previously, and his office was in such a condition that he could resume his work at any moment. A goodly number of his friends went that morning to his home to express their hearty good wishes. At the station a great crowd had assembled to say good-by and God-speed. From one of the schools of the city near the railroad all the children stood in line along the track and cheered as the train went by. One of the city papers said with literal truth: "There was not a man, woman, or child in the city who did not wish him success." All along the line to Jersey City at every station there were assembled cheering crowds. At the Pennsylvania station in Jersey City they were met by Adjutant General Stryker, who conducted the party under military and police escort to the boat which was to carry them to Communipaw, where they were to take a special train on the New Jersey Central road for Washington. The same enthusiasm was manifested along the whole route. The train made a record run to the Capital, covering the distance of 230 miles in 233 minutes of actual running time, 37 minutes less than its schedule time. At Trenton the train stopped to take on Governor Griggs, with his family and staff.

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At Washington the party was met by members of the Reception Committee and escorted to the Arlington, where quarters had been prepared for them. Soon after their arrival, Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson honored them by a call of courtesy, and invitations poured in upon them for dinners and receptions that evening. The fatigue of the journey and the extraordinary duties of the inauguration were made the excuse for declining them all. John Addison Porter, private secretary to the President-elect, brought a request from Mr. McKinley that Mr. Hobart should call upon him at the Ebbitt House. At this time these two men, who were to be so closely associated in their official relations and so united in friendship, were almost strangers to each other. After they were nominated Mr. Hobart had gone to Canton to pay his respects to the head of the ticket and to consult him upon important matters, but his stay had been short. Little did they realize, as they now met in Washington, how close was to be their fellowship. The interview was necessarily brief, but it was the real beginning of a friendship and intimacy between the President and the Vice-President, which grew into a relation between the two highest officials of the nation such as was never seen before, and may never be seen again. From that hour their hearts were knit together in mutual esteem and confidence. Their friendship was never broken by envy or jealousy. Major McKinley recognized in Mr.

Hobart a wise counsellor and a faithful supporter of his administration; and Mr. Hobart saw in Major McKinley integrity of purpose to fulfil the pledges of his party and to serve the highest interests of the nation. His often repeated expression of the character of the President was: "He is a good man."

CHAPTER XII

The Home and Home Life in Washington

ENVIRONMENT has much to do with the formation of habit and character; but when these have been formed, and by age and circumstances men are free to live their own lives, their manner of life becomes the expression of the habits and characters which they have formed. This expression is shown most fully in the home and home life. Instinctively one feels, as he enters a home for the first time, the impression of the history, the habits, the tastes, and the aims of its inmates. The home and the home life of the Hobart family made a distinct impression on the people of Washington and its numerous visitors. Their selection of a dwelling, their manner of life, and the atmosphere of their residence were the expression of their own characters and their conception of the obligations of their official position. Happily in their case the means were not wanting to enable them to carry out generously their intentions. The selection of a residence in Washington where they could carry out their ideas of the social duties devolving upon them in their official position became a matter

of serious consideration. Until a suitable house could be found, the family remained at the Arlington.

The house finally taken by them for their home, in its location, in its size and plan, and in its associations, was most admirably adapted for their purpose. It had already a reputation for hospitality and political influence. It was No. 21, on Lafayette Square, only a short distance from the White House. It is impossible to tell what this fact alone meant in the relations of the Vice-President with the President. No other Vice-President had ever lived in such proximity to the White House, making possible a close intimacy between the two families. Around the beautiful little park, to which Washington had given the name of his friend and companion in arms, much of the social side of the political life of the Capital for many years had been gathered. The locality on this account had received the title of the "Historic Corner," and the house from its color and the influence of its occupants was called by the newspapers "the Cream White House." For eighty years it had been a social-political centre of influence. Mr. Hobart took a lease of this house with its furniture, for the term of his office, from Senator Don Cameron. Though the section has lost its relative importance with the growth of the city, it must always retain an interest as a centre of historic influence. Calhoun, Clay, Webster,

Blaine, and Hay all have lived on this square. During the Civil War the house was occupied by Gen. McClellan as his headquarters. In many of these residences distinguished visitors have been entertained, and measures concerned with national policies and foreign relations have been discussed under the harmonizing influences of hospitality.

The house was originally built in 1828 by Benjamin Ogle Tayloe, fourteen years after the city was burned by the British troops. Col. Tayloe, his grandfather, was one of the few millionaires in this country in the early years of the last century. Although not in political life himself, Mr. Tayloe was on intimate terms with the highest government officials, whom he not only frequently entertained, but gathered also around his table distinguished visitors from other countries. After his death, the property was bought by Senator Cameron, who almost entirely rebuilt the interior. When the adjacent property owned by Senator Blaine seemed likely to be sold as a site for a theatre, this house was offered to the government as a suitable official residence for the Vice-President. A bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Gray, of Delaware, authorizing its purchase for this purpose. After considerable debate, the bill was passed by the Senate, but, as the House refused to concur in this action, the plan failed. It now became for a short and brilliant period the home of the Vice-President,

and the centre of not a little of the political and social life of the Capital.

The plan of the house, as well as its location, was admirably adapted to the aims of the Vice-President. It is of colonial style with an entrance on a level with the street under an oriel window. The outer doors, protected by an oval portico, opened on a square hall from which a broad stairway led to the reception rooms on the second floor. The rooms beneath were occupied by the Vice-President for the transaction of his official business. On the second floor were large rooms, opening into each other, giving the opportunity for public receptions. These rooms were lighted by windows reaching to the floor and opening on a veranda, which in summer was filled with vines and flowers. The decorations and furniture of these rooms were in excellent taste, and when pictures and ornaments belonging to the family were brought from the Paterson home, they gave the feeling of a true home life to all who entered.

In this well arranged and well managed home a delightful hospitality ruled. Rarely was the family alone. Old friends and neighbors were not forgotten in new scenes and public duties. New friends were constantly added to the long list, and all received a cordial welcome. Formal receptions were frequently given for the wives and relatives of officials in Washington, and for distinguished visitors. More than once the Senate was entertained here as a body, and the President

himself became a guest to meet informally those with whom he came in contact otherwise only officially. Many times unofficially the President entered these doors and found a welcome. In such social intercourse political feeling had no place. The social life of the "Cream White House" thus became an important element in the political influence of the administration. Among the notable entertainments in this house were the formal dinner and reception given to the British Boundary Commission headed by Lord Herschell, and the still larger and more elaborate dinner and reception given to Albert, Prince of the Belgians, on his visit to this country. At this entertainment, the Prince, instead of being placed in the seclusion of royalty, and having a select few presented to him, was asked to take his place in the receiving line and to shake hands with all the guests presented. The Prince expressed in a most kindly way his gratification with his unusual reception. Here also ministers and ambassadors from foreign countries were entertained, often without formality.

These social duties made great demands on Mrs. Hobart, which were met with cheerful kindness and unfailing tact. Her own great sorrow, still fresh in memory, was hidden from sight as she received her guests with cordial words, and sought to make them all feel at ease. No one in the large assemblies, seeming alone and unnoticed, escaped her attention. There are many

who remember with gratitude the kind thoughtfulness of the hostess to them as strangers. M. Rod, the French Academician, paid Mrs. Hobart a graceful compliment, saying: "Mrs. Hobart gave you her hand and a smile of welcome, and you felt she was truly glad to see you, and that it was not a perfunctory ceremony gone through so many times a week according to official etiquette." It is not a wonder that a deep regret was expressed when it was announced that Mr. Hobart was too seriously ill to cherish a hope of recovery, and that this home would never open again its doors with these genial hosts to welcome all who entered.

CHAPTER XIII

Inauguration of the Vice-President

THE morning of the Fourth of March, 1897, dawned auspiciously, and gave the promise of a perfect day. The sun rose on the crowded city of Washington with exceptional clearness. The air was crisp and bracing. It was an ideal day for the ceremonies attending the inauguration of the President. Every one felt the invigorating influence of the occasion and of the weather. The streets were early filled with eager throngs from every State and Territory of the Union, ready to take part in the events of the day, or to witness from some point of advantage the stirring scenes. Each incoming train increased the mighty hosts which early filled the streets. Squadrons of cavalry, regiments of infantry, brigades of soldiers and sailors of the army and navy of the United States; regiments of the National Guard from various States; civic and political bodies, with bands of music, gave interest, color, and variety to the scene. Never had the capital of the nation presented a more animated and interesting appearance.

Naturally, the larger number of those present

were of the party coming again into power after a short period of Democratic ascendancy. The Republicans had fought a great battle, and now poured out in vast numbers to enjoy the triumph. The President of their choice, who had led the way to victory, was now to be placed in power. But to an unusual degree the honor of this success was given to the man, who, by his uncompromising stand for the principle of a sound currency, had committed his party to this action, and contributed to its success. The people recognized his right to a share in the honors of the day. Large numbers had come from his own State to do him honor.

Soon after ten o'clock the open space in front of the Arlington, where Mr. Hobart and his party were staying, was occupied by the Essex Troop of the National Guard of New Jersey, under the command of Col. Frelinghuysen, which had come to Washington to be the escort of the Vice-President-elect. Senator Elkins of West Virginia, who represented the Senate Inauguration Committee, came at the same hour to accompany Mr. Hobart to the Capitol. With this brilliant escort they proceeded to the Capitol, passed through the lines of police guarding the building, and went to the Vice-President's room.

The Senate Chamber was for the time the centre of interest, and had been prepared to accommodate as many persons as possible. The session of the Senate had lasted through the night,

and the day had begun to dawn before a recess was taken. With all haste possible the Chamber was being prepared for the inauguration. Here, as President of the Senate, the Vice-President was to be inducted into office; while the President, as the ruler of the nation, was to take the oath of office in the open air in the presence of the people.

The Senate Chamber on this occasion had none of its accustomed appearance of dignity. Additional seats filled every available place on the floor and in the galleries. The Senators were crowded together on one side of the Chamber, and were compelled to share this space with the selected Cabinet of the incoming administration. Every place in the galleries was filled. The Executive Gallery contained the families and friends of the President- and Vice-President-elect. The Diplomatic Gallery was crowded with the families and staffs of the ambassadors and ministers of other nations. The Senate Gallery held the families of the Senators and Representatives. Every place open to the general public was occupied long before the ceremonies began.

A touching sight was witnessed in the Executive Gallery when Mrs. McKinley, the wife of the President-elect, who had been for years an invalid, was assisted to reach her place. And even more touching was the sight of the mother, Nancy Allison McKinley, who had passed the limit of fourscore years, as with vigorous step and eager look, her face flushed with just pride, she came to

witness the honor given to her son in becoming President of the United States. As she passed to the place reserved for her, every heart was moved in sympathy, and every one rejoiced that her life had been spared that she might be present on this glad occasion, and give a mother's blessing on the honor put upon her son. No one in all the assembly looked so bright and happy as this mother, who gave to the scene its closest touch of human interest.

The hour had now come for the important ceremony of the induction into office of the Vice-President, who was to become the presiding officer of the Senate. The retiring Vice-President took his place in the chair, and with the sound of the gavel the doors were opened, and the door-keeper advancing down the aisle announced "the ambassadors from foreign countries." The four ambassadors in the order of their appointment, Sir Julian Pauncefote leading the way, followed by M. Patenôtre, Baron Fava, and Count von Theilmann, passed down the aisle, as the Senate rose in respect, to the seats reserved for them directly under the platform of the President and facing the audience. With the same ceremony the ministers of foreign countries, led by Minister Romero of Mexico as doyen, were seated; and after them, successively, the Supreme Court of the United States; the Cabinet of the outgoing administration; officers of the army and navy; Governors of States; the House of Representatives

and members-elect, led by their Speaker, for whom a special seat had been reserved near the desk. Mr. Hobart came next, escorted by Senator Elkins, and, as the whole assemblage rose, was led to a seat on the side of the dais. From a door behind the desk, President Cleveland with Mr. McKinley, attended by the members of the Senate Committee, then entered, and were seated beside the ambassadors. They were followed by General Miles, representing the army, and a high officer of the navy. The Grand Marshal of the day, with his three aides, sons of former Presidents, was the last to enter the Senate Chamber.

Vice-President Stevenson called the Senate to order. Senator Hoar announced to the chair that the business of the session was completed. The Vice-President then administered the oath of office to Mr. Hobart as he stood beside him with his right hand uplifted. To this oath, with a pen given him by a clerk, he subscribed his name. In this quiet way the citizen became Vice-President of the United States. Mr. Stevenson then delivered a valedictory address, closing with these words: "Senators: My parting words have been spoken, and I now discharge my last official duty, that of declaring the Senate adjourned without day." The sessions of the Senate of the 54th Congress of the United States thus came to an end.

The Secretary of the Senate, William R. Cox, read the call of the President convening the Senate

in extra session. Vice-President Hobart, in virtue of his office, then took the chair and called the Senate to order. The Rev. Dr. Milburn, the chaplain of the Senate, offered prayer. The inaugural address was then delivered by the newly made Vice-President. It was followed by his first official act when he administered the oath of office to the Senators-elect. The Senate at the conclusion of these ceremonies took a recess for the purpose of witnessing the inauguration of the President-elect. For a brief space the country had a Democrat for President, and a Republican for Vice-President.

A procession was then formed to pass from the Senate Chamber to the east portico of the Capitol, where the oath of office was to be administered to the President-elect. It was a notable body of men which passed through the long corridor into the rotunda, and thence to the platform over the portico into the presence of the people gathered to witness the ceremony. The marshal of the District Court of Columbia and the marshal of the Supreme Court led the way, followed by the presidential party, the ambassadors, the Cabinet, and the members of the two Houses of Congress. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Fuller of the Supreme Court, and after it, following by preference the example of Washington, the newly-made President delivered his inaugural address. And in this simple manner, the ceremony only occupying six minutes,

the government changed hands, a private citizen a moment before became President of the United States, and one of the most influential persons in the world. With good reason he made the inaugural address as the President, and not, as had been done recently, as President-elect.

Those who were present on that occasion noticed a considerable number of empty seats on the platform, and few at the time understood the reason. These seats had been reserved for the foreign ministers. When the diplomatic body had assembled in the Marble Room of the Capitol before going to the Senate Chamber, some feeling had been manifested among them, because, for the first time, the ambassadors were to be distinguished from the ministers; and when no formal place was assigned them in the passage to the scene of the inauguration they quietly dispersed and left the seats reserved for them unoccupied.

After the ceremony of inauguration, the Senate reconvened and formally adjourned. Luncheon had been provided at the Capitol for the presidential party. As soon as it was finished, the President and ex-President, the Vice-President and ex-Vice-President entered carriages, and under military escort drove to the reviewing stand, which had been erected on the grounds of the White House. On this drive the positions of the two principal persons were reversed. President McKinley now occupied the seat of honor, which

on the passage to the Capitol had been occupied by President Cleveland.

It had been the custom for the ex-President immediately to efface himself at this point. But in this instance, a well deserved honor was shown to the retiring President. The Grand Marshal of the day, General Porter, had ordered a military escort to accompany Mr. Cleveland from the scene. He was conveyed to the wharf at the foot of Seventh Street, where a tender was waiting with steam up to carry him on a fishing excursion for which he had made arrangements. In a few moments the man in whose hands such power had been placed, and who had won the respect of the nation, was looking over his rods and lines, glad to find relief from the cares and responsibilities of his office. Mrs. Cleveland awaited Mrs. McKinley's arrival at the White House, where she had luncheon prepared for the newcomers. Immediately after she had welcomed them, she quietly disappeared, and was soon on her way to the station where she took a train for Princeton, New Jersey. In that beautiful college town Mr. Cleveland had purchased a house, and there he lived in honored retirement, filling an important place in the government and instruction of the university, and exerting a powerful and healthful influence in national affairs.

On the arrival of the President and Vice-President at the White House grounds, they took their places in the reviewing stand with their families,

and for two hours and forty minutes returned the salutes of the troops and civic bodies passing before them. It was a noticeable feature of that occasion that the colored troops were received with repeated cheers as they marched in the long line, and that the bands of music varied patriotic airs with "Dixie" and "My Maryland." The usual inaugural ball was held in the evening, and was attended by more than five thousand persons. The Pension Building was used for the purpose, and was beautifully decorated with flags and flowers. About half after nine the President and Vice-President with their families appeared, and passed through the crowded building, a way being made through the throng by asking the men to clear a lane by joining hands and holding the crowd back. After supper they retired from the building, and the day so eventful for them all came to an end.

CHAPTER XIV

The Inaugural Address—Its Reception

THE inaugural address of the Vice-President was awaited with some anxiety by the Senate, and with much interest by the nation. Questions of grave importance to the business interests of the country had not been promptly acted on by the Senate, even after adequate discussion, on the plea of Senatorial courtesy, which forbade any limitation of debate. In the House, both by its own rules and by the will of the Speaker, a vote on a bill could be forced, but in the Senate, neither by existing rule nor by the will of its President, could a limit be placed on debate. It was entirely possible for a single member to talk a bill to death, and thus prevent important legislation. That this is not an impossibility has been proved in recent times, when in the Senate three Senators attempted to annul the will of eighty-nine. The long-drawn-out debate in the Senate on the repeal of the Sherman Silver-Purchase Act, and the threatened exercise of this privilege on other questions awakened the attention of the country to a danger not before apprehended. Senator Allen, of Nebraska, speak-

ing on the currency question held the floor of the Senate for eighteen consecutive hours. The nation, with easy tolerance, first laughed, then found fault, and finally became angry. The general condemnation was often expressed in the newspapers. Some idea of the prevalent feeling may be obtained from an extract taken from *The Nation*, suggesting what Mr. Hobart's address should be to express public opinion. It said:

SENATORS:—My predecessor on taking this chair four years ago characterized you as the most august legislative assembly on earth. He would now doubtless give worlds to withdraw that phrase. It is my duty, sent here by the direct vote of the people, to tell you that you are nothing of the kind. No other legislative body in a free country is so much despised, and at the same time dreaded, as you are. Another four years like the last of steady affront to the best sentiment of the nation, of aid and comfort given to agitators and incendiaries, of shameless trifling with the country's good name, of dull insensate opposition to all political progress and to political purity will fill up the cup of your iniquity. What you have really done is to make the dignity of the Senate a hissing and a byword.

There can be no doubt that a very deep feeling of condemnation pervaded the country, when such words could appear in print.

To some degree this feeling found place and expression in the Senate itself. So frequent and vigorous was the comment throughout the country, and so many and severe were the strictures on the Senate's course, that a movement to remedy

the evil had actually begun in the Upper House. Senator Hoar and Senator Mason prepared bills to provide some form of cloture of debate. Such a rule has been adopted as a necessity by the French Chamber of Deputies, and Mr. Gladstone in the Parliament of 1881-82 was forced to adopt the cloture to secure action. Certainly the Senate of the United States cannot become a perpetual debating club either for its own amusement or for political ends.

It was this condition which created so deep an interest in all parts of the country in Mr. Hobart's address. No one doubted that this practical man had convictions on the subject, and no one questioned that he had the courage to give them expression. Indeed it was well understood, and probably from hints given by himself, that he intended to make expression of his views in his address. It seems unquestionable that this apprehension of what his successor would say influenced the valedictory of Vice-President Stevenson. The two addresses on this point have somewhat the character of a debate. Although the inaugural address is included in this chapter, an extract may have place here in contrast with the warning words of the retiring President of the Senate.

Mr. Stevenson said in his valedictory:

"Of those who clamor against the Senate and its methods of procedure, it may be truly said 'they know not what they do.' In this chamber alone

are preserved, without restraint, the two essentials of wise legislation and good government, the right of amendment and of debate. . . . In my humble judgment, the historic Senate, preserving the unrestricted right of amendment and debate, maintaining intact the time-honored parliamentary methods and amenities, which unfailingly secure action after deliberation, possesses in our scheme of government a value which cannot be measured by words. The Senate is a perpetual body, organized to guard against dangers which have wrecked other attempts to establish Republican government. To guard against these dangers the chief hope of the framers of the Constitution was placed in the Senate, which abides and will continue to abide, one and the same body until the Republic itself shall be overthrown, or time shall be no more."

It was not Mr. Hobart's desire to overthrow the Republic when he said:

"It will be my constant effort to aid you, so far as I may, in all reasonable expedition of the business of the Senate. I may be permitted to express the belief that such expedition is the hope of the country. All the interests of good government, and the advancement toward a higher and better condition of things call for prompt and positive legislation at your hands. To obstruct the regular course of wise and prudent legislative action, after the fullest and freest discussion, is neither consistent with true Senatorial courtesy, condu-

cive to the welfare of the people, nor in compliance with their just expectations."

The last words of the 54th Congress in the Senate were for the unchangeable past, the first words of the 55th Congress were for progress in the future on safe lines, meeting new conditions with new methods. The apprehension in the Senate from the words of its President as he began his duties was allayed by his calm utterance, his quiet demeanor, and the charm of his personality. It was impossible to take offence where no offence was given. His honest expression of his views compelled respect. The Senate waited in vain for aggressive antagonism. When he finished his brief address, President Cleveland turned to his successor sitting by his side and said: "That was an excellent speech, delivered in the sweetest voice I have heard in many a month."

The impression made on one at least of the Senators is given in *The Memorial Addresses* published by the Government after the death of the Vice-President. Senator Daniel, of Virginia, said: "Few of us knew him, and few indeed had ever seen him before he appeared on inauguration day, the 4th of March, 1897, to take the oath of office. But his genial, manly countenance, beaming with health, intelligence, and good nature, and the unaffected dignity of the refined and accomplished gentleman which characterized his bearing, were a pleasing introduction before personal presentations were made; and as soon

as he assumed his duties it was evident the gavel was in a master's hand." The gavel which Mr. Hobart used on the occasion of his inauguration was given him by the officers and directors of the two banks in Paterson with which he was connected. It was made from the wood of an apple tree which grew near his birthplace at Long Branch, and was carved and mounted in gold. Senator Cullom, of Illinois, gave at the time of the inauguration his impression of the man: "Adlai E. Stevenson," he said, "became much beloved by the Senate. He also fell in love with the body. Hence he left us with benedictions, and Hobart came in with the decision and aplomb of a busy and experienced administrator. I never saw anything like Hobart's ease and dispatch from the time he began the swearing in of the new Senators. They say he presided over both Houses of the New Jersey Legislature, and some think he considers the Senate about the same. Hobart is an able man. He gives a commercial touch to our body it has not had in my time."

The address of the Vice-President which awakened so much interest was as follows:

SENATORS: To have been elected to preside over the Senate of the United States is a distinction which any citizen would prize, and the manifestation of confidence which it implies is an honor which I sincerely appreciate,

My gratitude and loyalty to the people of the country, to whom I owe this honor, and my duty to you as well demand such a conservative, equitable and conscientious

construction and enforcement of your rules as shall promote the well-being and prosperity of the people, and at the same time conserve the time-honored precedents and established traditions which have contributed to make this tribunal the most distinguished of the legislative bodies of the world.

In entering upon the duties of the office to which I have been chosen, I feel a peculiar delicacy, for I am aware that your body with whom, for a time, I will be associated, has had but a small voice in the selection of its presiding officer, and that I am called upon to conduct your deliberations while not perhaps your choice in point of either merit or fitness.

It will be my constant effort to aid you so far as I may in all reasonable expedition of the business of the Senate, and I may be permitted to express the belief that such expedition is the hope of the country. All the interests of good government and the advancement toward a higher and better condition of things call for prompt and positive legislation at your hands. To obstruct the regular course of wise and prudent legislative action after the fullest and freest discussion is neither consistent with true Senatorial courtesy, conducive to the welfare of the people, nor in compliance with their just expectations.

While assisting in the settlement of the grave questions which devolve upon the Senate of the United States, it will be my endeavor to so guide its deliberations that its wisdom may be fruitful in works, at the same time exercising such fairness and impartiality within the rules of the Senate as shall deserve at least your good opinion for the sincerity of my effort.

Unfamiliar with your rules and manner of procedure, I can only promise that I will bring all the ability I possess to the faithful discharge of every duty as it may devolve upon me, relying always upon your suggestions, your advice, and your co-operation, and I should feel unequal to

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the task did I not trustfully anticipate that indulgent aid and consideration which you have at all times given to my predecessors, and without which I could not hope to acquit myself to your satisfaction or with any degree of personal credit.

It shall be my highest aim to justify the confidence the people have reposed in me by discharging my duties in such a manner as to lighten your labor, secure your appreciation of my honest effort to administer your rules with an eye single to the public good, and promote the pleasant and efficient transaction of the public business.

I trust that our official and personal relations may be alike agreeable; that the friendships we may form here may be genuine and lasting, and that the work of the Senate may redound to the peace and honor of the country and the prosperity and happiness of all the people.

CHAPTER XV

The Office of Vice-President

IN order to form a correct appreciation of the place which Mr. Hobart came to fill in public life and opinion in the office of Vice-President, it is necessary to keep in mind the nature of the office as defined by the Constitution, and also the comparative insignificance with which it had come to be regarded, not only by the people, but even by the Senate itself. In many of the newspapers of the day it was seriously said that in accepting this office he had consigned himself to oblivion, and would never be heard of again. All the world knows how far these predictions were from fulfilment. It was in the faithful performance of the narrow duties of his office that he became widely known and truly honored. The simple and undeniable fact appears that a man, in the legal profession, who had been occupied with business affairs and political management and who was comparatively unknown, came to be the confidential friend and adviser of the President; the intimate associate of leading men of all parties, and of ambassadors and ministers; the respected and beloved President of the Senate;

and one of the best known and honored citizens of the nation in an office which was supposed to relegate him to obscurity. His personality, ability, and fidelity commanded respect, and gave meaning and character to his office. He gave to the office which he held fresh importance.

In consequence of the dangerous rivalry between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr in 1800, who were candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, the constitutional mode of election for these offices was altered. Previously, the electors from the several States had cast their votes for President and Vice-President without designating the individual for the office. The one receiving the majority of votes became President, and the other one Vice-President. In the bitter dispute which arose at that time a danger became evident, which required a remedy. Under the old form of election, a personal rival of the President might fill the second place with the right of succession. It was not in human nature, under such conditions, that an administration should be harmonious, or that the personal relations between those filling these offices should be either pleasant or confidential. By the Constitutional amendment which was adopted at this time, the electors of the States cast their votes for an individual designated for the office. This amendment was not passed without opposition. Roger Griswold gave expression to the fears of many in these words: "Should this amendment

be adopted, the man voted for as Vice-President will be selected without any decisive view to his qualifications to administer the government. The only criterion will be the temporary influence of the candidate over the electors." No change was thus made, or has been made since, in the functions of the Vice-Presidency. The solitary duty of a Vice-President is to preside over the sessions of the Senate. He has absolutely no power, with the single exception of casting the deciding vote when there is a tie. His privileges are summed up in the appointment of his secretary and of two messengers. No place is assigned him in any council of the Government, or function of state. So anomalous did the office seem to Benjamin Franklin, the sagacious humorist of that period, that he proposed as the title of the Vice-President, "His Most Superfluous Highness." Thomas Jefferson said: "It is the only office in the world about which I am unable to decide whether I would rather have it or not."

The Senate of the United States is the only continuous legislative body in the country having a Constitutional existence. At noon on the 4th of March of every odd year the House of Representatives passes out of existence. The Senate never ceases to exist. One third of its members changes every two years, but at all times two thirds of its members remain as the Senate of the United States. Over this body, but not a member of it, the Vice-President in virtue of his office pre-

sides. The superimposed presiding officer may thus be in antagonism at certain times with the majority of the body. In such a contingency the Senate can have only a personal regard for a presiding officer, whom it has not chosen, and whom it will outlive. Strong in its position and Constitutional rights, it is jealous of its prerogatives, and its gradually established customs, which have almost a sacred authority in its own eyes.

For the first six years after the Constitution was adopted, all the sessions of the Senate were held with closed doors. At a session held April 18, 1792, a motion was made to admit the members of the House of Representatives to hear the debates, which received only six affirmative votes. The secrecy of its ordinary sessions was abolished December 9, 1795. Executive sessions are now held only under a rule of the Senate.

At the earliest opportunity after the induction of a new Vice-President, the Senate proceeds to elect a President *pro tempore* of its own number, who shall occupy the chair in the absence of its Constitutional President. At times, at least, in this action there has been a clear intimation that the Senate could get on very well without the presence of the Vice-President. This hint or privilege, as it may be regarded, has been accepted with great liberality by some who have filled the office, and, it must be added, with perfect indifference by the nation. Should the Speaker of the House thus absent himself, comment and

censure would be heard. But the absence of the President of the Senate excites neither criticism nor remark.

With this indifferent view of the office some newspapers of the day advised Mr. Hobart after calling the Senate to order, "to go to sleep, and not wake up for four years." But he had taken office with no such notion. He accepted the office with the serious intention to perform its duties with strict fidelity. He would not be content to be the inconspicuous and idle understudy of the President, of no more immediate value than a fifth wheel to a wagon. If the office in itself carried with it possibility rather than responsibility, he would not efface himself, and live a mere waiter on providence. He meant to perform the duties of his office with all fidelity. He meant to preside over the sessions of the Senate, take an interest in its discussions, and enter into personal relations with each Senator. He intended that the nation and the Senate should understand that he had an office to fill and duties to perform.

Through a continuous history, as long as the national existence, the Senate has naturally established precedents and formed habits, and evolved rules. Always retaining in itself the memories of previous acts, it is ever harking back to the past and moulding even its minute actions on precedents. George C. Gorham, who was for eleven years Secretary of the Senate, prepared for Mr. Hobart a paper in which he gave his

personal views of the rules and customs of this body. In this paper he said: "The Senate is governed almost as much by usage as by written rules. Indeed one of its unbinding rules is to do nothing it has never done before, and in what it does never to deviate from previous methods. If an incident occurs out of the common it is not dealt with in an offhand manner, in accordance with the judgment of those present, but the journal is searched until a similar case is found, and whatever course was then pursued is carefully followed."

With little power of initiative in the Government, and therefore able to be deliberate, the Senate has developed a fine sense of dignity and courtesy in its actions which has produced strange results for a legislative body. As it would be discourteous for one gentleman to intimate to another how long he should speak or whether his remarks were germane to the subject, so in this body no limit can be placed upon debate except the good sense and right principle of the individual member. Though for a short time a form of cloture was adopted, it is now no longer permissible to limit the time a member shall occupy in discussion or to question the relevancy of his remarks. The Senator controls the Senate. The only way of limiting debate is by the exhaustion of a continuous session day and night, or by the Constitutional right to call for the ayes and noes at any time without debate, provided some motion—

which may be only a motion to adjourn—shall intervene. One fifth of the Senate can thus obstruct and even stop legislation. At the close of the session, when business presses, a single Senator can defeat a measure approved by a large majority by the simple announcement that he means to talk it to death if a vote is called for. Secretary Gorham in the paper already quoted also says: "There is a rule of the Senate which commands every Senator to vote, but it is a dead letter. No sergeant-at-arms has been found who would lay violent hands upon a truant Senator and compel his attendance."

It can readily be seen when, immediately previous to his induction into office, the nation had been roused to indignation by the dilatoriness of the Senate to pass the tariff bill on the ground of courtesy to a member, what an excitement was created when the newspapers announced that Mr. Hobart meant to cast precedents aside, and force upon the Senate some form of cloture of debate. As to his judgment in the matter then pending no one could doubt what he would approve, but few who knew him imagined he would go beyond his province or a prudent consideration of the rules and customs of the Senate.

The limitations of his office, as President of the Senate, were fully understood by Mr. Hobart. He recognized that his position was very different from that of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. He did not represent a Congressional

district or a State, but the nation. He was, therefore, separate from the body over which he Constitutionally presided. As a matter of courtesy he might perhaps address the Senate on the subject under consideration, but not as a right of his office. He had no power to appoint a committee, or to arrange for the consideration of any particular business. He was not even admitted to the caucus of his own party. His only power was to rule on a point of order, put the question to vote, and declare the result; and, in case of a tie, to cast the deciding vote. This power of final decision became a matter of importance during his term of office. At one time the ascendancy of the Republican party in the Senate depended on the admission of a Senator from Kentucky and the vote of the Vice-President. The election of Mr. Deboe of Kentucky, after a contest lasting sixteen months, made the Republican members at that time of equal number with the Democrats. The Republican party's power was for a time sustained by two men from two traditionally Democratic States.

The power, which under rare circumstances may be in the hands of the Vice-President, was exercised by Mr. Hobart in an important matter. On February 14, 1899, the purpose of the United States toward the Philippine Islands was under debate in the Senate. The joint resolution proposed by Senator McEnery set forth the intention of the United States in these words: "It is

the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands, to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as best promotes the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands." Senator Bacon proposed as an amendment: "When a stable and independent government shall be erected therein, entitled, in the judgment of the Government of the United States to recognition as such, to transfer to said government upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and to thereupon leave the government and control of the islands to their people." The vote on this amendment was equally divided. Twenty-nine votes were cast in its favor and an equal number in opposition. The casting vote by the Vice-President defeated the amendment, and left the policy of the Government to be settled by future conditions. The *Boston Watchman* said, November 30, 1899, in a review of Mr. Hobart's life: "The late Vice-President doubtless performed many acts of far-reaching consequence, but we doubt if any one of them was pregnant with such important results as his casting vote by which the Bacon amendment was defeated."

If on the legislative side of the Government a Vice-President seems to fill a position of small importance, this is even more apparent on the execu-

tive side. By virtue of his office he does not become a member of the Cabinet, nor can he claim to be admitted to the councils of the administration. The two men who fill the highest offices in the country may scarcely have known each other by name before their election. Usually they have come from widely separated parts of the country and from opposing factions of the party. Indeed the Vice-President may have been a rival for the higher office, and his nomination been given to appease his resentment or to placate an aggrieved faction. The President, who must take the first step toward intimate relations, may be indifferent to the Vice-President from lack of acquaintance, past rivalry, political policy, or social standing. In every case something of the feeling which has often existed between the reigning sovereign and the heir apparent is likely to be aroused. Whatever may be the reason, the fact is undeniable that there has seldom been even a nominal relation of friendship between those who have held these offices, and they have seldom appeared together in public functions. More than once there has been practically no intercourse between them during the whole term of an administration. It is said that the only time when President Buchanan summoned Vice-President Breckenridge to the White House was to consult him with regard to some words to be used in a Thanksgiving proclamation.

In his official life the Vice-President stands

singularly alone, without definite place or power. His position is undefined, his duties are largely perfunctory, and his powers insignificant. He seems to exist only for an exigency. It is not strange then that this office has extinguished distinguished men. To this office Mr. Hobart gave a new distinction. In this office he gained the esteem and confidence of the President, the respect and affection of the Senate, and the admiration and regard of the whole nation. With a modest dignity he discharged with fidelity his duties, and in honoring his office was honored himself.

To this consideration of the office of Vice-President it may be of interest to add that the possibility of succession to the Presidency is not so remote as is often imagined. Five times in the history of the nation has a Vice-President succeeded to office by the death of the President. John Tyler succeeded President Harrison; Millard Fillmore, President Taylor; Andrew Johnson, President Lincoln; Chester A. Arthur, President Garfield; and Theodore Roosevelt, President McKinley. Certainly it seems to be established that it is for the interest of the party in power and for the nation at large that the Vice-President, who may at any hour succeed to the Presidency, should be acquainted and in accord with the policy of the administration. The words spoken in the nominating convention deserve to be remembered: "A man who is not big enough to be President is not big enough to be Vice-President."

CHAPTER XVI

Mr. Hobart as Vice-President

FROM what has been said it is evident that a Vice-President may fulfil in good measure the duties of his office without attracting attention, or may neglect them without exciting remark. Of so little importance did the post appear in the public view that *The Chicago News* made the prediction: "Mr. Hobart will not be seen nor heard until after four years he emerges from the impenetrable vacuum called the Vice-Presidency." The *Springfield Republican* announced: "Mr. Hobart's choice lies between trying to rival 'Czar' Reed and sinking into the usual Vice-Presidential place of passive insignificance." Such expressions serve only to show how little was expected of a person who filled the office, and how little was known of the man who now filled it.

For the performance of the duties of his office he prepared himself by a careful study of the place it filled in the national government; its history; its rules and customs; and last, but not least, by a familiar acquaintance with the names of its members and the States which they represented. It was this knowledge, joined with his experience as

the presiding officer of both Houses of the Legislature of his native State, and his accurate acquaintance with parliamentary rules, that enabled him with so quiet demeanor to assume the duties of his office on his inauguration. At once the Senate was compelled to realize that he was a master in the situation, however limited might be the power he could exercise. He commanded respect from the outset, quickly disarmed prejudice, and speedily won regard.

No member of the Senate was more faithful in attendance on its sessions, or in attention to the speeches made by the members than was the Vice-President. He was spoken of as "the chronic audience, who listened with respect when few even of the members were present. Unless he is called out of the Chamber on some important business in his office, he sits in the chair from the blind chaplain's prayer at noon until whatever time the Senate adjourns." He prepared himself for the work of each day by reading with care the journal of the previous day, and was thus able to advance without delay the question under discussion. He never failed to recognize correctly a member who addressed the Senate. He immediately adopted the habit of ruling from the chair on points of order without reference to the Senate, as had been the custom. With genuine courtesy, unfailing tact, perfect fairness, and strict attention to the matter in hand, he greatly facilitated the transaction of business, and diffused a

feeling of good will among the members. Thus in a fair and honest way, while never acting as a partisan, he became a political factor. No man was ever better adapted to the difficult task of smoothing asperities, composing differences, soothing wounded feelings, and readjusting strained relations.

It was not in his nature to hold mere formal intercourse with those with whom he had to do, and the friendly feeling in his heart awakened in others a friendly feeling. He proved in experience the Biblical law of friendship: "He that would have friends must show himself friendly." This feeling naturally with him found expression in hospitality. His heart and home were open to all, and it was more from friendship than policy that more than once he invited the Senate to be his guests. The one note common in all the utterances in the Senate, and in the House as well, on the formal occasion of the memorial sessions of the Senate and House after his death, is expressed in the words repeated over and over again: "He was my friend." From the speeches made in the memorial service in the Senate, it is difficult to select an example as an illustration, for all express the same warmth of personal feeling. From the remarks of Senator Lodge these words are taken: "As presiding officer of the Senate he fulfilled carefully and thoroughly every duty of the place. He abandoned once for all the bad habit which had grown up, of submitting nearly

every question of order to the Senate, and ruled promptly on all these points, as every presiding officer ought to do. In these ways he steadily elevated the Vice-Presidency in the estimation of the people, and made the office what the framers of the Constitution intended it to be."

The prevalent feeling of the nation, that the Senate in the previous session had sacrificed important business interests to an excessive courtesy to its members in an unreasonable extension of the privileges of debate, had found expression in his inaugural address. His personal views in this matter were frankly indicated, and his purpose, as far as he had power, declared. The newspapers of the day hailed these words as the beginning of a movement to change the rules and customs of the Senate. Many, perhaps most of the Senators, apprehended an attack on their time-honored customs. But while as a practical man, whose decisions were no sooner reached than they began to be put in practice, he saw the evil, he had no desire, in order to reform it, to be a dictator or even an innovator. His views he expressed with frankness, but he had no intention to seek to enforce them against the judgment of the Senate. He would do what he could by example and practice to facilitate in a reasonable way the transaction of business, but he had no intention to usurp the prerogatives of the Senate, or to claim powers not given to him by the Constitution. He replied to the often repeated question as to what

he was going to do to obtain speedy action on the tariff bill: "The tariff bill will be passed by the Senate in orderly procedure. There will be no attempt, so far as I am concerned, to break down the customs and precedents of the Senate. I am frank to say I do not believe the tariff bill will be passed as soon as I would like it to be, but this will have no influence on my action. I hope after the bill has passed there will be some reform." No change was made by the Senate in its rules or customs, but his views and his actions, his regular presence, his quick decisions and constant attention to the stages of each bill, made a perceptible change in the unduly prolonged deliberations of that body.

Two instances of the way in which Mr. Hobart, in the strict line of his official duty, advanced the action of the Senate are given in the newspapers of that day. The *Washington Post* furnishes an illustration in these words: "The Vice-President has saved hours and hours of debate and delay by his quick perception and comprehensive knowledge. He keeps tab on everything. 'Has paragraph 432 been disposed of?' asked Mr. Allison. 'It was disposed of on the 28th instant,' replied the Vice-President. On another occasion Mr. Hobart knew the time exactly,—nearly three weeks previous—upon which another schedule had been acted on. He remembers who asks postponements of one paragraph or another, and can correctly state in the most concise fashion

any question, no matter how intricate. The most remarkable instance, however, was shown in an incident which happened recently. 'Will the Senator,' said Mr. Mills, addressing Senator Quay, 'refer me to the particular paragraph about cattle in the present law?' 'Paragraph 373 of the Wilson law,' responded the Vice-President without a moment's hesitation. By such alertness and ready acquaintance with the business in hand, the Vice-President has kept the debate as well in hand as any one could under the rules of the Senate, and has shown how a business man's mind can adapt itself to new circumstances with great success." "It cannot be denied," said the *Pater-son Call*, "that under his Presidency, the Senate has been more businesslike than at any time during many years past." In the same strain the *Boston Herald* said: "The most singular feature of all about his office is in the contrast—the insignificance of it in nominal operation, and the importance it may assume. It is a comfort to feel in view of the latter that we have so good a man as Mr. Hobart in the place."

It soon became evident that the Vice-President and the Senate were on the best of terms, and with increasing acquaintance these terms became more personal and cordial. The strong regard which grew up between its President and each member of the Senate is shown by an incident which occurred at one of the receptions given by Mrs. Hobart. Senator Bate, of Tennessee, one

of the oldest of the Senators, appeared at this reception after a laborious session occupied with the discussion of a bill in which he had a strong interest. Mrs. Hobart expressed her special gratification at his presence after the weary work of the day. "You will be more surprised," he replied, "when I tell you I voted to-day contrary to my intentions. I knew your husband felt a deep interest in the matter, and I could not bring myself to vote against his wishes." This incident shows more than the influence which the Vice-President had gained in the Senate. It shows the knowledge and helpful tact of a wife who kept even pace with the life and work of her husband.

The impression of the personal influence of Mr. Hobart upon the Senate found expression in the utterances of those of its members who spoke at the memorial services of that body after his death. Senator Davis, of Minnesota, said in his eulogy: "I do not think that any predecessor of Mr. Hobart ever exercised on public affairs that marked and persistent and beneficial influence that he did. We felt, irrespective of party, that our deliberations were being guided by a serene, just, and impartial intelligence which we now miss so greatly, because it is gone forever." On the same occasion, Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama, said: "I have never heard a criticism or ill-natured remark made about Garret A. Hobart while he was Vice-President." And to quote

again from Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts: "Mr. Hobart demonstrated to all men the greatness and importance of his office, and has shown that it ought to be one of the greatest prizes of political life, to be desired by our most ambitious men; and regarded not only for its intrinsic importance, but as a stepping stone to higher honors. That a man in two years could do this is the strongest evidence of an unusual force of character, and of abilities of no common order." There can be little question that had he lived until another Presidential election, the same ticket would have been put in nomination by the Republican party, and would have been elected.

The popular impression of the Vice-President finds expression in the words of a correspondent at Washington: "Vice-President Hobart has captivated the Senate, and the Senate appears to have captivated him. His business-like advice and warning intimations rather nettled many of the Senators and partly prejudiced them against their presiding officer, but they know him better now." And it may be added that the better they knew him, the more highly did they regard him. One who was competent to speak on the subject said: "No Vice-President has had the rules of the Senate more at his fingers' ends, or shown a greater familiarity with parliamentary law since the days of John C. Calhoun." In his office, as everywhere, he won the hearts of men, while he commanded their respect. The social relations

established by the hospitality of Mr. Hobart introduced into the official relations between him and the Senate the element of friendship.

The national recognition of the Vice-President's qualities increased the admiration of the citizens of his native State. An honest pride was felt by all Jerseymen in the position gained by a fellow citizen, whose worth each already had recognized. Twice before, in the persons of Theodore Frelinghuysen and William L. Dayton, their hopes to see one of their citizens placed in the Vice-Presidential chair had been disappointed. Samuel L. Southard had indeed been elected to preside over the Senate, but he was not Vice-President, for that office was made vacant when in 1841 Vice-President Tyler succeeded to the Presidency on the death of William Henry Harrison. It was then with special gratification that the citizens of New Jersey saw one of their number occupying the office of Vice-President, with general recognition of his honorable influence and exalted character.

CHAPTER XVII

Addresses to the Senate—Personal Expressions on the Character and Scope of the Senate

IN this chapter will be found the complimentary resolution presented to Mr. Hobart at the close of the session of the Senate on March 3, 1899, and his address on the following day before declaring the Senate adjourned; an address to the Senate in 1897, and extracts taken from papers, mostly in his own handwriting, in which he gives his impressions of the functions of the Senate and the character of its members. It cannot be without interest to read in his own words the views of one, who, from his official connection with this body and intimate friendship with its members, was so competent to judge of the sphere and worth of this important part of the national government.

Senator Cockrell on the 3d of March, 1899, when Senator Gallinger was in the chair, offered the following complimentary resolution, which was considered by unanimous consent and unanimously agreed to: "*Resolved*, that the thanks of the Senate are hereby tendered to the Honorable

Garret A. Hobart, Vice-President, for the dignified, impartial, and courteous manner with which he has presided over its deliberations during the present session."

On the following day, before declaring the Senate adjourned, Mr. Hobart addressed the members in these words:

SENATORS: In a few moments the 55th Congress will pass into history. It has been a Congress distinguished beyond most other Congresses for remarkable achievements. During its life, unlike any other session in the history of our country, this Congress has witnessed the inception, prosecution, and conclusion of a war with a foreign power, undertaken in the interest of humanity, and conspicuous for the brilliant deeds of the army and the navy, by whose valor an imperial domain has been added to our possessions and millions of people to our population.

But not only has this Congress been a war Congress, it will always be memorable as a Congress of peace; and in securing it this body has exercised its Constitutional function, as a part of the treaty and peace-making power, in a way to command the approval of the country.

These facts alone would have made this Congress eminent in the long line of our national legislatures; but for other acts and results, not to be enumerated at this time, the 55th Congress has likewise been notable; and now, its Constitutional life ended, it becomes a part of our national history, and leaves to its successors for settlement many problems that will be perplexing, important, and of the very highest concern to our people.

We feel confident, however, and the American people may well feel assured, that future Congresses will meet these grave questions with wisdom and patriotism, and

solve them soundly and righteously. To doubt it is to doubt the true American spirit, and to lack confidence in the strength of our political institutions. I have faith in both.

The hour of adjournment is now at hand. For the unfailing courtesy and unvarying cordiality, which have characterized the attitude of the Senate towards me as its presiding officer, I am profoundly grateful, and I cannot let this opportunity pass without this public expression of my deep appreciation of kindness received at the hands of each member of the body; and particularly I cannot close the Senate without recognition of the efficient services of the officers and reporters of this body, whose efforts have been so faithful, and whose duties have been so courteously and diligently performed.

For the Senators who remain, and for the Senators who retire from this body, I desire to convey my thanks for the kindly sentiments expressed in the resolutions just adopted; and it only remains for me now, in the exercise of the duty devolving upon me, to declare that the Senate stands adjourned without day.

At the close of the session in which action was taken by the Senate upon the tariff bill, Mr. Hobart, in an address made in response to a toast on a public occasion, referred to his inaugural address and to the work of the Senate in these words:

On the fourth of March last, when for the first time I addressed the Senate of the United States, I expressed the belief that "the reasonable expedition of the business of the Senate is the hope of the country, and that all the interests of good government, and the advancement toward a higher and better condition of things call for prompt and positive

legislation at the hands of the members of the Senate." That remark was made in all innocence, but I soon discovered that the Senate's definition of "reasonable expedition" differed very much from my own conception of the meaning of that phrase. But, even if some of us were disposed to regret that relief could not be provided at an earlier date, I am sure we can all unite in congratulating the country upon the passage and signing of a tariff law, which has already induced a return to partial prosperity, and which gives abundant promise of a full and complete return to the happy industrial and economic conditions which prevailed under previous Republican Administrations.

The "expediency," which was heralded as the hope of the country has finally come, but it has come through no effort of mine, and through no improvement of the rules of the Senate. For this achievement the nation owes a debt of gratitude to the loyal and patriotic Republican members of the Senate and House, who have labored without ceasing to promote the public welfare, and whose efforts have resulted in the enactment of a tariff law which gives ample protection to American industries and extended employment to American workingmen. For the very essence and character of the law is American, and there is not one alien feature in it.

But other influences were also at work in the passage of this measure, and I should be unfair to a large group of men if I omitted to state that one factor in the enactment of the tariff law of 1897 has been the forbearance of the Democrats and Populists and others who are in opposition to the Republican party. They refrained from abusing the rules of the Senate in order to defeat tariff legislation, and they displayed a commendable spirit of concession.

The great tariff measure is now written among the statutes of our country. Every channel and avenue of trade is already feeling the beneficial influences of its

provisions. The cloud of depression and distrust, which has enveloped our country, is gradually rolling away, and there is every indication of a revival of industry and a return of prosperity. Those, who a few months ago predicted wide-spread calamity, will see, if they have not already seen, the folly of their predictions.

The socialist will find that he must work before the goods or the wealth of others will be distributed, so that he can get his portion of them, for there are no industrial rewards for the idle. He will learn that the saved money of the thrifty is not his, and cannot be his, except as the result of honorable toil. When that time comes, and when the discontented and dissatisfied learn these fundamental truths and are willing to be guided by them, we shall have made a great step in advance towards the solution of the economic problems that are pressing for settlement.

At a considerable length, the question of the currency was presented and action urged, and the address closes with these words:

In the accomplishment of these objects a factor of no inconsiderable importance will be the Senate of the United States, over which the people have summoned me to preside, and in whose honor you have set aside a toast. The Senate of the United States is a peculiar body, certainly peculiar in itself and distinct from any other parliamentary and legislative body in the world. It is made up, as you know of many elements, and in its membership you will find not only straight and stalwart Republicans, to whose active efforts the country is now looking for relief, but Bimetallists, Populists, Silverites—both Republican and Democratic—and a few gold Democrats, who are at one on all other questions save the financial one with the members of their party. Naturally, there is a wide divergence

of views in a body so composed. But however much these men may differ in creed and opinion, in theory and practice, in their views on the broad questions, which divide and ever will divide men into parties and factions, a study of four months has enabled me to see clearly that there is one common ground on which they all stand, one point from which they have the same outlook, one centre from which all their views and opinions radiate, one impulse and one motive which is common to them all; that each and every one of them is a loyal and patriotic American citizen, loving his country, proud of its history, zealous for its Constitution and devoted to its flag. In this one common unifying sentiment which animates the United States Senate, there is no North, no South, no East, no West, however sectional opinions and desires may color their thoughts or direct their actions on other questions.

From a study of each of these men, under circumstances that give a peculiar advantage, I have been enabled to see how thoroughly representative in its character is the Senate of the United States; for I have observed how closely the Senators reflect the wishes and desires of their constituents, and how their demonstrations and manifestations of loyalty to country and flag are, after all, merely a reproduction of the thoughts and convictions of the people who have sent them to the National Legislature. I am convinced that the Senators represent the desires of their constituents in a way hardly possible under any other form of government. That being so, one other inevitable conclusion has forced itself upon my mind, and that is this—that as long as we have in the Senate, such men, representative as they are, loyal, devoted to the public service, and patriotic to the core, such institutions, such convictions, and such sentiments will last not a decade, not ten decades, but for all time, never to perish from the earth.

Mr. Hobart's views of the Senate were expressed on another occasion:

Although not a member of the Senate, I have, as you know, an intimate official and personal connection with that body, and know something of its membership and methods. Although constitutionally I am the President of the Senate, it is a pleasure to add that my relations with the Senators have passed beyond the purely formal limit of official intercourse, and have developed into associations of friendship and intimacy with many of those who make up this remarkable body.

I say "remarkable," because the Senate is a remarkable body of men, remarkable for many reasons and in many ways. Parties may come and go; the lower branch of Congress is continually changing; administrations flourish and fade into history; Cabinets dissolve when the natural limit of their life has been reached; but the Senate goes on forever, a permanent fixed quantity, and in its permanency, solidity, and conservatism a striking evidence of the genius, of the great men who made our Constitution. It stands to-day the *sine qua non* of legislation, exercising its great functions of law-making and of executive prerogatives, and, if occasion arises, of judicial powers, just as it exercised them over one hundred years ago.

Aside from its innate Constitutional strength, the membership of the Senate is the factor which gives it its vast power and its tremendous influence. Here year after year, decade after decade, we have a group of picked men from the States of the Union. Its older members have represented their States so long, that its membership now seems a part of the very history of each State. The younger men are preparing for the larger fame which time and opportunity may give them.

Here the smallest State is as powerful as the largest Commonwealth, and that ratio of equality, which gives to

each State two Senators, has never been and never will be, disturbed. In this way the Senators have been indelibly associated in the public mind with their own State; and just as Webster and Clay and Calhoun stood for Massachusetts and Kentucky and South Carolina, so no one can sever Maine in his mind from the Senators who represent it, Hale and Frye; or Massachusetts from Hoar and Lodge; or Vermont from the veteran Morrill and Proctor; or Missouri from West and Cockrell; or Alabama from Morgan.

I have said something about the men of the Senate, but reference to the Senate would be incomplete unless something was said about its methods. Perhaps no legislative body in the world is so constituted in the way of doing business as the Senate. Here we have a body in which debate is for all practical purposes unlimited, and in which the minority has every bit as much privilege, and almost as much power, as the majority. I was never so surprised, as I was when, during the first days of my occupancy of the chair, I began to ask for votes and to take them in the open Senate. When at first I heard a solitary "aye" I was in doubt, but later I had abundant opportunity to observe that bills—many of them—are passed without a single affirmative or negative vote. The ends of legislation are accomplished by "common consent," by the rule "without objection."

The reason for this is clear, for most of the calendar is made up of those bills, where work has been done—fully, accurately, and completely done—in committees. There the real substantial work of the Senate is done, and if one seeks for a key to the Senate's method of transacting public business, he will find it in the committee room, and in our system of legislation by committee.

One other fact has forcibly impressed itself upon my mind during an observation covering many months, and it has taken the form of a conviction, that the Senate is beyond

all other things a patriotic body. However much the members may differ from each other on political, financial, and economic questions, they are all loyal patriotic American citizens, loving their country, mindful of its traditions, proud of its institutions and its history, and devoted, heart and soul, to its Stars and Stripes. While such feelings of profound patriotism animate the Senate, we need have no fear that the real and permanent interests of our nation will suffer! And if ever the time shall come when the patriotic heart of the United States shall be aroused in a common cause, calling for open demonstrations of loyalty to the flag, the country will find no more loyal or patriotic men than the Senators from the North, South, East, and West who represent the forty-five States of our Union.

CHAPTER XVIII

The President and the Vice-President

IT may be said with hardly an exception that from the beginning of our national history to the period of the McKinley administration, the two official persons who had least to do with each other in the political and social life of the Capitol were the President and the Vice-President. Neither official duties, nor social functions necessarily brought them together. In many instances they were strangers to each other when they took their respective offices, and they were equally strangers when their terms of office expired. Such an unfortunate and unreasonable condition did not exist in the new administration. The President and Vice-President were in perfect accord and in intimate friendship.

Mr. McKinley and Mr. Hobart had only a slight acquaintance with each other before they met in Washington to enter on the duties of their high offices. They were unlike in temperament and in habits of thought and action; they had been trained in different schools of experience; their political views had not been in complete agreement; and it seemed entirely probable that

their official intercourse would be only formal and perfunctory. But while they differed from each other, each one possessed a warm heart capable of friendship, and an open mind joined with a strict sense of duty. Each one recognized the worth and sincerity of the other, and realized the importance and assistance to be gained from mutual intercourse and support. The President saw in the Vice-President a man whose training and experience made him a wise counsellor, and whose sense of honor would prevent him from becoming a rival. The Vice-President saw in the President a man whose purpose was sincere to do right and serve his country, and to whom he could give and ought to give loyal support. On the basis of respect and confidence a sincere and cordial friendship was established between the two, which increased in strength to the end. The administration, like the ticket, was "McKinley and Hobart." Unless an exception should be made of John Hay, who was recalled from the embassy in England to become Secretary of State, no one knew more of the policy of the administration, or exerted a greater influence with the President than Mr. Hobart. They were both friends and confederates. So certain was the President of the loyalty and good judgment of his colleague, that the latter was consulted in all questions of general policy. This relation, at once so influential and so delicate, was never weakened by interference unasked, or selfish use

of his influence on the part of the one thus honored. It may be safely said that no measure of importance was discussed with the Cabinet of which the Vice-President was not cognizant; and that members of the Cabinet, as well as the President, freely took counsel with him. The unusual title given him in some of the papers in recognition of his influence was "Assistant President."

This intimate and useful relation could hardly have existed had the residence of the Vice-President been in a part of the city distant from the White House. Frequent and informal intercourse could only exist under close proximity of residence. This made possible also what was an important factor in the case—the intimate acquaintance and affectionate relation established between Mrs. McKinley and Mrs. Hobart. Mrs. McKinley had been an invalid for years, and while not kept out of social life altogether, had been largely dependent on the care and society of her husband. The devoted attentions given for years to his invalid wife were necessarily interrupted by the constant demands of public duties. The situation awakened the sympathy of Mrs. Hobart. She sought by her presence and cheerful words to relieve the tedium of weary hours, and to support the invalid in the functions which required her presence. With tact and efficiency the needed help was given. For this assistance the President was deeply grateful, and often expressed his thanks for the relief from anxiety which this care afforded him. The

two families lived on terms of cordial intimacy. The doors of the White House always opened to the family of the Vice-President, and scarcely a day passed without some intercourse between the two families. Even when Congress was not in session the intercourse was kept up. Repeatedly the President and Mrs. McKinley visited Mrs. Hobart in Paterson, and more than once they spent part of their vacation together at Bluff Point on Lake Champlain. In the public mind Mr. Hobart became associated with the administration.

An indication of the attention of the public mind to this unusual intimacy appeared in the newspaper criticism of the fact that the President and Vice-President travelled to New York to attend the dedication of the memorial tomb of General Grant on different trains and by different roads. The fact was regarded as an evidence of changed feelings and relations. In reality it was an act of prudence to guard the interests of the country, and prevent the confusion and injury which an accident fatal to both would have caused. It was on this occasion, as will be told later, the President exhibited in the most public and marked manner his regard for the person, and respect for the office of the Vice-President.

The sturdy loyalty of the Vice-President was proved at a serious moment, when the national excitement was roused to such an extent over the conditions in Cuba that war with Spain became inevitable. To reduce to submission the

insurgents in Cuba, the most cruel and desperate measures had been adopted by the Spanish authorities, which were ruthlessly carried out by the notorious General Weyler. The rage of vengeance led the army of Spain not only to the slaughter of those taken with arms, but to the most inhuman treatment of women and children. For a long period the United States had suffered much in trade from the disturbed conditions of that island, and its unsanitary condition was a constant menace to this land. Exasperation had deepened into indignation before the cries of the starving men and women and children in the loathsome camps of refugees, where they were confined like cattle, were heard appealing to this nation for help. The country chafed at the thought that such things were occurring at its very doors, and discussed the question of interference for humanity's sake. In the newspapers, in public assemblies called to consider these conditions, in legislative halls and in Congress the question of governmental interference, even by arms, was advocated. The news of the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana came to the excited feelings of the American people like a flash of lightning in a powder magazine. Many of the officers and most of its crew were instantly killed and entombed in the sinking wreck. Necessarily the first feeling was that the vessel had been destroyed by a submarine mine, with the connivance, if not the assistance, of the Spanish

authorities, and an investigation, made by the United States Government, decided that the battleship had been sunk by an exterior explosion, but did not fix the responsibility on the Spanish authorities. The whole nation was moved as one man with pity for the dead, sympathy for the bereaved, horror for the deed, and a sense of injury which demanded reparation.

While with unanimous voice the country cried for some adequate action, and many for an instant declaration of war—and this cry was echoed even in the Senate—the President retained his composure, and made no expression of his feelings beyond sympathy with those who had been bereaved, and a purpose to investigate the cause of the terrible loss of life and national injury. Even when called to take summary action by legislatures, and by voices in both Houses of Congress he did not respond. He had been a soldier, and he knew the horrors of war. More than this, he knew the country was not prepared for a conflict even with a weak power. The harbors on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts were practically defenceless; without sufficient men, without an adequate supply of powder, without modern guns, and without forts capable of resistance. The condition of the Pacific Coast was clearly indicated by the command issued by the Government to Admiral Dewey to find and destroy the Spanish fleet in the waters of that ocean. The nation was not prepared to defend its own coasts. Our

arsenals contained various styles of weapons, insufficient in number and all of them more or less out of date. The army was small and scattered. The whole supply of powder in the country was inadequate for more than a battle. Well might the President hesitate to speak the fateful word, which would involve the country in a conflict, even with a power like Spain. When war had been declared, and the possibility of an attack on the cities of our sea coasts was realized, those who had clamored most loudly for war, were now crying even more insistently for protection. But defences cannot be created in a night. If nations can learn lessons, this nation was taught the lesson of preparation for conditions which may arise suddenly.

At this time of excited feeling demanding instant action, Mr. Hobart showed his personal interest in the President's popularity and influence. He had been accustomed to gauge public opinion, and he realized that the time had come when the President must act in conformity with the feelings of the people or lose his control over his own party. He determined to present his convictions to the President. That the conversation might not be interrupted, he invited the President to drive with him. He laid before Mr. McKinley the facts of the case as he viewed them, and urged him to forestall any action by the Senate to declare war against Spain. Finally he said: "Mr. President I can no longer hold back action by

the Senate; they will act without you if you do not act at once." The President had listened for a long time in silence, but at the mention of the Senate's independent action he spoke: "Do you mean the Senate will declare war on its own motion?" "I certainly do. I can hold them back no longer," was the reply. "Say no more," the President answered. The rest of the drive was taken in unbroken silence. But the message which the nation desired, and which led to the outbreak of hostilities came to Congress in a few days, and war was declared. Congress showed how consonant this action was with its feelings, and its implicit confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the President by placing in his hands \$50,000,000 to be used at his discretion. The final action of the Senate, affirming the words of the President, was taken after a long session lasting far into the night. It was four o'clock in the morning when Mr. Hobart reached his home, too tired to sleep. At six o'clock martial music and the tramp of horses drew him to the window. There he saw the Sixth Regiment of Cavalry, fully equipped, already passing to the station to be entrained for the South. Referring at a later period to the interview which seemed to lead to a decision in the mind of the President, Mr. McKinley said: "Some day I am going to write a book, and I will put all that in it."

This warm personal interest in the President led the Vice-President to seek to put the President

on good terms with the Senate. Questions had arisen out of the results of the war on which there was a diversity of opinion, and the relations between the President and the Senate had been strained. To allay irritated feelings and establish friendly relations, Mr. Hobart invited the President to meet the Senate socially at his house. Such an occasion was an innovation, but it was a happy thought and had a pleasant ending. The Senators were entertained during the evening at several small tables, and the President was taken from one table to another, and thus met individually the whole body. The genial nature of the host and the social feeling of the occasion dissolved all differences, and brought the President and the Senate into harmonious relations. One of the Senators said on departing: "Mr. Vice-President, give us another such an entertainment, and we will do anything you wish." With regard to this occasion the *Washington Post* said: "The accomplished and painstaking host was really the one who made everything so delightful, who made everybody have such an old-fashioned good time."

Nothing can more clearly show the affectionate regard existing between the persons and the families of the President and the Vice-President than the letters with which this chapter is concluded. Most of them belong to the period of Mr. Hobart's illness and death, when the real feelings of the President would naturally find their warmest expression.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
September 16, 1899.

DEAR MR. VICE-PRESIDENT:

We have been home a week and one day, and have heard only once from you. We would like to hear every day that we may know just how you are.

We are alone to-night sitting at the end of the hall, where you and Mrs. Hobart have so many times found us and added to our pleasure by your presence. How we wish you were with us to-night!

I started to write about the Dewey reception. He will be here on the second, when the greeting is to commence, and will continue through the next day. It is my purpose to give him a gentlemen's dinner on the 3rd. Now what Mrs. McKinley and I want above all else is that you and Mrs. Hobart and Junior with your man-servant and maid-servant shall come here on the Saturday preceding, Sept. 30, and remain with us through the functions. We expect to leave here for the West on the 5th of October. I can imagine no place where you will be more comfortable than here. We shall have no guests in the house, and therefore, plenty of room, and no company to distract. We can have a good visit together. It will do you good I am sure, and Mrs. McKinley and myself will be made happy. We want you to be our guests at the White House, and there is no time so opportune in every way, as the one proposed. The functions will be simple. The most you need do is to be present at the presentation of the sword at the Capitol, voted by Congress. Our dinner you could shorten according to your comfort and pleasure.

Mrs. McKinley joins in love to you, Mrs. Hobart and Junior. Hoping for an early reply, which will advise us of your acceptance,

Very faithfully yours,

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

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To this letter it is evident that Mrs. Hobart replied declining the invitation on the ground of Mr. Hobart's illness. The President answered:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
September 17, 1899.

DEAR MRS. HOBART:

Your letter filled us with regret. We had counted so much on your visit, and do not yet give it up. Our thoughts are with you all the while, and we do not allow ourselves to believe that the Vice-President will not regain his health. I have been so distressed by the latest news, that I have felt like coming at once, though conscious there is nothing I can do for his comfort and pleasure. You have our heartfelt sympathy and earnest prayers.

You have shown such high courage that I pray it may be rewarded in the early improvement of the Vice-President. Mrs. McKinley is not getting on very well. I am having a New York doctor here next Thursday for consultation. Give my love to Mr. Hobart and Junior, and believe me always,

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Another letter from the President, written about a month later, is as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
October 21, 1899.

MY DEAR MR. HOBART:

You will be interested to know that our trip was an interesting one. I had never been to the Dakotas. It is a wonderful country, and the people are of the best. They did my heart good. They are for the flag and country. Nothing has ever touched me more than that in your sick chamber you wanted Mrs. Hobart to read my

speeches made on the journey. I tried to say the right thing and hope my words have your approval.

My thoughts are on you daily, and my heart with you all the time. I pray God to give you back your health. Is there anything I can do for you? If so do not hesitate to say the word. Will come to you any moment you may wish. Mrs. McKinley sends love to you, Mrs. Hobart, and Junior, in which I join with all my heart.

Your faithful friend,

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

In a postscript to a letter dated December 5, 1900, the President writes to Mrs. Hobart: "I want to thank you for your kindness to Mrs. McKinley when she was in New York, which must have been at some inconvenience to you. You made her very happy, and that means you have made me both happy and grateful."

The President and Vice-President returned to Washington before Thanksgiving day, 1898, and Mr. Hobart with his family was invited to dine on that day at the White House. When they were seated at the table on that occasion, the President looking around the table said: "Is not this delightful! Just the President's own."

As an instance of the patriotic fervor and the crude ideas which were aroused by the coming war, Richard Mansfield sent to Mr. Hobart a letter, in which the actor, "as an old student of diplomatic warfare," gave an outline of a note which Spain should address to the United States, admitting that the policy in Cuba had not been satisfactory, and proposing that the United States assist Spain

in bringing "order, peace, and prosperity" to the island. Spain, according to Mr. Mansfield's plan, would refund to the United States expenses incurred, with a bonus, and would guarantee, by a lien on export duties from Cuba, to keep the island in the condition which followed American intervention.

Mr. Hobart's reply to this letter has not been preserved, but it is evident from this second letter from Mr. Mansfield that no encouragement was given to this plan:

BOSTON, April 22, 1898.

To His Excellency the Vice-President.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your very gracious letter.

I fear the war may not be as speedily terminated as we hope and as many expect. The Spaniards having nothing left to lose, the fight will mean their very existence.

The destiny of this nation is, however, beyond the control of any country. It will win its way always and for many centuries.

I had the honor to point out to the British Minister, W. Sackville-West, many years ago, the advantages of an Anglo-American alliance, and I called the attention of several high officials of the United States to this same matter. If such an alliance was to become (even secretly) *un fait accompli*, England and the United States could practically dictate terms to the world. England should not consent to such an agreement, however, without understanding that the fleet of the United States should be made as powerful as that of Great Britain. The United States should at once take possession of Hayti. Necessity

demands this, and it is imperative. No great leader could hesitate for one moment. We are able to take care of the result, but we shall not be able if we hesitate now. My present business engagements will terminate in three weeks, and, albeit an Englishman, I beg to offer my services in any capacity to the United States. My private car, which is in New York, is also at the disposal of the government, and would be of service in transporting high officials to and fro from Washington to the South. Finally may I ask you to forgive the intrusion, and to present my very humble respects to Mrs. Hobart, and believe me, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

RICHARD MANSFIELD.

CHAPTER XIX

Official Position of the Vice-President

THE prominent position which Mr. Hobart at once filled in the social and official circles of Washington raised questions to which no importance hitherto had been attached, and which indeed, at the first, appealed only to the humor of the nation. Later it became evident these questions involved principles, and needed to be treated with seriousness. His prominence in the society of the Capital, his influence with the President, as well as the fact that the United States by holding dependencies outside its own territory had now become a world-power, all combined at this time to compel a decision on the official position, in public functions, of the Vice-President. It was evident that the one who filled the office at this time was more than the titular President of the Senate with a reversionary right in the Presidency. He was a factor in the social and political life of the nation, and his place necessarily had to be fixed and recognized.

As the relations of the United States with other nations had become more important and more complicated, the duties of representatives on both

sides became more serious and called for the appointment of the wisest and most experienced diplomatists. In recognition of these new conditions the British Government had changed the character of its representative from a minister plenipotentiary to an ambassador, who represented not only the nation, but the sovereign in person. This example had been followed by France, Germany, and Italy. As the personal representative of his sovereign, accredited to be "near the person of the President," an ambassador can demand an audience at any time as a right, and on public occasions the position which his sovereign would fill if present. In monarchical governments this place would be immediately following the sovereign and the members of the royal family. On this ground the British Ambassador claimed the right to occupy the place next to the President at public ceremonies, and in social affairs to have precedence over the Vice-President.

With the easy indifference of republican views and customs, such a question had never been seriously considered. Indeed no one had seemed to think a Vice-President needed to be recognized officially. With the growth of the Capital and the consequent increase of social life, and the appointment of persons with different powers and rank to represent foreign governments, matters of etiquette became important. It will be remembered that at the time of the inauguration the neglect to show reasonable attention to the

ministers representing other countries had led to confusion and awakened criticism. These conditions gave prominence to the question of precedence raised by Sir Julian Pauncefote. It is altogether unlikely that there was any doubt in his mind that his claim would be allowed. He had good reason to expect this, for Richard Olney, Secretary of State under President Cleveland, had admitted on a public occasion the right of the British Ambassador to precede Vice-President Stevenson. It was only natural that he should expect to receive the same respect under the new administration.

There was no man living who was more indifferent to titles and ceremonies than Mr. Hobart, but no man had a clearer conception of the dignity of his office and a firmer purpose to uphold it. Though he never personally appeared in the settlement of the question, and never was quoted in the discussion of the matter in the newspapers, there is no question as to his own opinions and the influence which he exerted on the decision. This is made clear in the letter of John Hay with which this chapter is closed.

Sir Julian Pauncefote, after eminent legal service in England, in which he had exhibited exceptional knowledge of international law, had been appointed minister to this country, and the ministry had been elevated to an embassy during his term of office. His appointment and the elevation of his office were largely due to the fact that the govern-

ments of the United States and of Great Britain had agreed that the disputed question of the boundary line between this country and the British possessions in the Northwest should be settled by commissioners who were soon to meet in Washington. As a gentleman of high character and of great legal ability, he was admirably fitted for the office. He had become deservedly popular in this country. Under these circumstances it was natural that he should expect the recognition of his claim. No one ever accused him of mere personal considerations in the matter.

Sir Julian, therefore, waited for the new Vice-President to make the call of ceremony upon him, but Mr. Hobart, by refraining from this recognition of an ambassador as occupying a station superior to a Vice-President, clearly indicated the position which he had assumed. The question came up for decision when a reception was given by the British Ambassador at the embassy. The Vice-President could not be ignored, but no call had been made on either side. An invitation to this reception, however, was sent from the embassy to the Vice-President. To this a reply was given, through Mr. Hobart's secretary, acknowledging the receipt of the invitation, but expressing the idea that it must have been a mistake, as the Vice-President had not been recognized by a call. The issue became a matter of public knowledge in the social life of Washington and aroused great interest. As the family of the Vice-President constantly

appeared in society, and was entertained oftentimes in the same homes as was the British Ambassador, the question of precedence had to be settled. Wherever on such occasions the question might be raised whether the Vice-President would be regarded as the guest of honor, Sir Julian made inquiry as to the position to be accorded him, and declined the invitation where the precedence was not to be given to him. The attitude once taken had necessarily to be carried out in all cases. It was made a condition of his acceptance of an invitation to be present at the dedication of the tomb erected in New York to the memory of General Grant that he should immediately follow the President in all the proceedings. Necessarily such a claim must be equally yielded to the other ambassadors. The committee having the matter in charge, understanding that the direction of the President that the Vice-President should ride in the carriage with him and be placed beside him in all the ceremonies had settled the question of precedence, evaded the difficulty by issuing invitations to the ambassadors, not in their official capacity, but as "distinguished guests." The very marked attention paid to the Vice-President by the President during the ceremonies, and at the reception given in the evening at the Union League Club, even more plainly indicated his decision of the question, which now had become a matter of general interest and was widely discussed in the newspapers.

It is pleasant to record that no personal feeling on either side marked the controversy at any time. The question was not regarded as a personal matter by either of the contestants. They frequently met with cordial feelings on common ground, and when the question was finally settled their intercourse was most friendly. A little comedy, witnessed by a large number of persons in Washington, gave much amusement at the time. Both the Vice-President and Sir Julian were invited to attend a reception and musicale given at the Austro-Hungarian legation to commemorate the birthday of Baroness Hengelmüller von Hengervar. These two distinguished guests arrived at the same moment and after all the other guests had been seated. Two small divans exactly alike had been reserved for them in front of all the company. They entered the room together with the hostess, and a general movement indicated the amused interest of the audience at the scene. The result was that the British Ambassador and Mrs. Hobart were seated together, and the Vice-President and Lady Pauncefote.

The question was finally settled in London, when it was intimated to Sir Julian, who was spending a few weeks at home during the recess of Congress, that the government did not mean to contest the point at issue. No formal communications on the subject had been made to the British Government, but the decision of the President was informally presented. On the return of the

Ambassador, he asked John A. Kasson, one of the American members of the Joint High Commission, to inform the President that he had made an official call on the Vice-President, and to obtain from him a formal and final declaration of his decision. The President replied, "Make my kind regards to Sir Julian, and tell him there has never been a question that the Vice-President comes after me." In telling of this interview in the family most interested the President said, "I settled it quickly," and then, turning to Mrs. Hobart, he added, "or rather you settled it when you said, 'I thought the ticket elected was McKinley and Hobart, not McKinley and Pauncefote.'"

The principle on which the decision was made is that the Vice-President is the heir apparent of the President. In case of the removal of the President by death or Constitutional cause the power and duties of the office devolve upon him. The question as to the rights of those officials who have been placed, by an act of Congress, in succession to the Presidency has never been raised.

The letter of John Hay, to which reference has been made, was as follows:

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
LONDON, December 27, 1897.

MY DEAR MR. VICE-PRESIDENT:

I have your letter of the 18th, and thank you sincerely for all your kind words.

I congratulate you on the peaceful outcome of your battle for precedence. I have always heartily approved

the position you assumed, and think it was imposed by a proper sense of the dignity of the great office you hold. I have never discussed the question with Sir Julian personally, though I have made no secret of my views in the matter. I should be inclined to think his own good sense on reflection had showed him your position was right.

He is a man of most excellent sense, and a most estimable character; and now that this little misunderstanding is at an end, I am sure you will enjoy his acquaintance.

As the first year of the administration is drawing to a close I feel as safe as I am happy in congratulating all of you on the splendid promise and solid achievements of the year. Especially are all of us to be felicitated who said early in the year that Mr. McKinley was the best man in America for President. In his strong and resolute hands the country is safe, and knows it.

Mrs. Hay joins me in cordial messages to Mrs. Hobart, and I am

Faithfully yours,
JOHN HAY.

CHAPTER XX

Bereavement

MR. HOBART'S life at the time when he was becoming a national character seemed to all who knew him exceptionally fortunate. All whom he knew were his friends. All that he touched seemed to prosper. He had labored and endured hardships in his early life, but he had gained success and popularity. He had not known the bitterness of unrequited toil, nor had he suffered the mean vexation of envy and strife. In his successful course he had neither made enemies nor alienated friends. Never had his friends been so many and devoted; his life been so full and enjoyable; his prospects so bright and alluring. He seemed to be exempted from the disappointments and sorrows in the common lot of others. In this hour of success and security a sorrow came upon him so overwhelming that its shadows were never lifted, nor his broken heart healed. He received a blow from which he never recovered, and which undoubtedly hastened his death. His only daughter, most dearly loved, who had become the joy of that home and a companion to her parents, was smitten with a deadly

disease in a foreign land, and died after a brief illness. Her body was laid in a lonely grave far from kindred and friends.

As the time approached for another general election, knowing from experience that much labor would be laid on the members of the National Committee, and with prescience recognizing that his own nomination for Vice-President was at least probable, Mr. Hobart decided after a family council to take a period of rest and recreation. Accordingly a trip to Europe was carefully planned, and everything arranged to relieve the travellers from care and obtain all possible comfort and enjoyment. That no anxiety should be felt for any member of the family left behind, all were included in the plan. An intimate friend of the daughter was gladly accepted as a member of the party. With most cheerful expectations and hearty good wishes of a host of friends, they left their home. From time to time news came of their progress, and the health and enjoyment of the party. No one, they least of all, anticipated anything except a happy journey and a safe return. In this hour of apparent security a cable despatch was received at Paterson from Bellagio, on Lake Como, saying that the daughter was ill with some affection of the throat. Great anxiety filled the hearts of friends at home, partly because they recognized that the message would not have been sent unless the case was serious, and partly because they knew that a chronic weakness of

the throat in the patient made any affection of the kind more dangerous. The first message was speedily followed by another, telling that death had removed the daughter, and that as soon as possible the party would return. The sad news spread rapidly through the city, and filled with grief and sympathy thousands of hearts. All loved her who knew her; all felt for those who suffered a loss overwhelming in itself, but made more bitter from the circumstances.

Fannie Beckwith Hobart died from malignant diphtheria at Bellagio, on Thursday, June 27, 1895, at one o'clock in the afternoon. The party reached Venice in the best of spirits at the time when the moon was full, and had found it most delightful to be on the canals and feel the charm of that mysterious city by moonlight. From Venice they had gone to Bellagio to spend a few days of quiet enjoyment in that beautiful spot. They reached there on Saturday about noon. Before nightfall a physician was called in to prescribe for the daughter for what seemed to be a severe sore throat. The case rapidly developed alarming symptoms, and both doctors and nurses were summoned from Milan. Intercourse with them, so important in these circumstances, was difficult because none of them spoke English. The case grew more serious with every hour, and as a last resort antitoxin was administered. It was of no avail. The end came quickly, and this young and beautiful life passed from earth; from

a foreign land to the endless home-land; from scenes of earth's loveliness to the world of unending glory; from bright prospects of earthly happiness to the realities of heavenly joys. In the circumstances a new meaning was given to the words of that Book which touches all human experience with a benediction, "And in the garden a sepulchre."

In that place where persons from all lands come to seek health and refreshment and carry away memories of loveliness and enjoyment, this family passed through scenes of bitter anguish, and carried away memories which time could not obliterate. The sorrows of a lifetime seemed distilled in the cup then given them to drink. They were compelled that same night, solitary mourners, moving by the light of lanterns, to lay the body of one so dear in a hastily made grave in foreign soil. No wonder Mr. Hobart said, "I cannot imagine one thing left out that could add a sorrow to what we were called to bear." Far from home and friends, in a hotel where every trace of what was occurring had to be hidden, unable to communicate freely with doctors or nurses, forced to lay their dead so soon in the grave without the presence of a friend, they felt the bitterness of grief without the alleviations in ordinary sorrow.

It can readily be seen the proprietor of a hotel filled with travellers from distant lands is placed in trying circumstances from such conditions as have been described. Had the character of the

disease and its fatal result been known, there can be no question that in a few hours the house would have been deserted, and at least for a season have been shunned. Every effort was made by the proprietor to conceal the facts from the guests. Members of the family were compelled to appear at the public table, and were asked to hide their anxiety and grief. To no one could a knowledge of their circumstances be given, and from no one could sympathy be asked. The charges for the special services needed and for the furniture in the rooms occupied, all of which, it was declared, the law required to be burned, were very great. In those hours of anguish many things occurred on these lines which added to the bitter pain of the loss.

Fannie Beckwith Hobart was loved by all who knew her. In her early death the promise of a happy and useful life was broken. She had grown up in a loving home with every comfort and luxury at her command, unselfish, unaffected, unspoiled. She was, in truth, a "home-girl," whose life and happiness were found in home love and home duty. Sweet in disposition, gentle in manner, loving and sympathetic in heart, simple and cheerful in the faith and practice of religion, her brief life was a ministry of love. In the comforts and enjoyment of her own happy lot her thoughts turned toward others who lacked most of the blessings which she possessed. Among other duties she had taken upon herself the pleas-

ant task of providing and distributing the Christmas gifts at the entertainment given to the children in the Paterson Day Nursery. And in her memory, as the season of blessed remembrance of the lowly birth of the Child of Bethlehem comes round, that kindly service continues. A mother's love has also erected a memorial building to preserve her work and life in an enduring benefit for little children and for the useful training of young girls. In the hall of the Paterson Memorial Day Nursery building, perfect in all its appointments, a tablet of bronze, enclosing a likeness of the one so sadly lost, tells to all who enter her name and kindly ministry. Her brief life was not in vain. Though dead, she still speaks. On the wall opposite the tablet are these words of dedication, expressive of a mother's love and faith:

I dedicate this building in the name of sacred sorrow. In this work resignation and love for the dead and the living find expression. In the holy fellowship of bereavement the way is left lovingly open for others to give aid in memory of loved ones departed.

I dedicate this building in the name of a holy fellowship with suffering, burdened humanity. Those, whose burdens of toil are rendered insupportable by anxious care for helpless unguarded children, can have the assurance that their little ones can find here loving care and protection.

I dedicate this building in the name of sacred love for helpless childhood. In this home the little ones will find safety from accident and contamination, instruction, enjoyment, and provision for their wants.

I dedicate this house in the name of the common Father

of us all, whose children we all are, and who teaches us to bear one another's burdens.

I dedicate this building in the name of our Lord and Saviour, who came to us as a little child, who took little children in His arms, and who said, "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

I dedicate this building in the name of the Holy Comforter, who inspires our hearts with holy purposes, and who gives to all in trouble peace and hope.

Lastly, on this work I invoke through all the years to come the divine blessing, and ask the constant sympathy and interest of all who are His children, and of all who love little children. Amen.

Hundreds of little children have had reason to bless the memory of this dear daughter, and thousands in years to come will be living memorials of her sweet and gentle life. Her home is on high, but that life is still a blessing for little children for whom she had loved to care in the spirit of Him who said: "Suffer them to come."

As soon as possible the bereaved parents returned to the Paterson home, leaving the body in the cemetery on the hill-side overlooking Lake Como. Under the law of Italy, the bodies of those who die from infectious disease cannot be moved for a period of five years. Through the strong influence which Mr. Hobart was able to bring to bear on the Italian authorities, and by the efficient aid of Wayne MacVeagh, the American Ambassador, permission was granted to remove the body in the year following the death. A. A. Wilcox, an intimate friend and associate

of Mr. Hobart, went to Italy for this purpose, and with much difficulty accomplished the removal. On March 25, 1896, in the home which she loved so dearly, and from which she had gone out so full of life and hope, simple religious services were held in her memory. Her body was buried in the family plot in Cedar Lawn Cemetery just outside the city of Paterson. After the erection of the mausoleum which holds the remains of Mr. Hobart, it was removed and placed in that tomb.

CHAPTER XXI

The Social Life of the Vice-President

HIGHLY as Mr. Hobart appreciated the dignity of his office, and strenuously as he upheld it, it was not in his nature, or in his good judgment right or wise, to hedge himself about with ceremony, or hold himself aloof from his fellows. While it certainly was to him a pleasure, he recognized it as a duty, to exercise a large hospitality. He clearly apprehended the value of social influence in political life, and heartily and deliberately sought to employ it. He had the means to gratify his feelings and accomplish his aims. It was this clear purpose which led him to select for his official residence the ample house on Lafayette Square, which had already an established reputation for hospitality. The doors of this house opened widely and frequently for the entertainment of friends, of government officials and the Senate, and of distinguished persons visiting Washington. Rarely was the family without guests, and large numbers were formally entertained at receptions and dinners. The Vice-President and Mrs. Hobart in this way filled an important place in the social life of Washington

and in the political influence of the administration. Old friends were not forgotten in this new life.

In this phase of his life necessarily Mrs. Hobart filled an important part. No one would have been more ready than her husband to confess that the success and charm of that social side of their life in Washington were largely due to her. To her wise management and good taste, her kindly manner and attention to every guest, and to her courtesy and tact, which met the requirements of difficult situations and the respect due to distinguished persons, a tribute finds a proper place in this memorial. For her husband's sake she came out from the seclusion of her deep grief to take her place beside him in public life, and help him to carry out his views of the obligations of his office.

The popularity of the Vice-President and Mrs. Hobart brought them many invitations to other homes, and they were frequently guests as well as entertainers. Exaggerated reports of the number of these entertainments were published, and the illness of Mr. Hobart was attributed to the late hours which attendance on such occasions required. It needs to be remembered that to a man of Mr. Hobart's genial temperament rest and recreation were found in intercourse which afforded an agreeable change of scene and thought. When they were the guests of honor, they almost invariably retired at ten o'clock, and were in their home a half hour later.



It needs also to be remembered that Mr. Hobart fully estimated the influence of friendly relations in political life, and had planned his home life in Washington as a means to this desirable end. Reference to his hospitality may be made again because it was exercised with a deliberate purpose, and was entirely consonant with his feelings. It is an undoubted fact that his own personal relations with the Senate, as well as its harmonious working with the administration, were happily influenced by the entertainments given to that body. Under the influence of cordial greeting and good cheer, the suspicions aroused by mischief-making reports of his intentions, as President of the Senate, were effectually allayed. The misunderstanding of the attitude of the executive was there corrected when the President and Senators met socially on common ground. The asperities of party strife were forgotten in these entertainments, and good feeling took the place of suspicion and opposition in the minds of the Senators in their own relations and toward the President.

Many times, formally and informally, the President was the honored and welcome guest in that home. He came to it with the familiarity of a friend. Ambassadors and ministers from other lands, as well as distinguished visitors, were entertained with the respect due to them personally, as well as to their station.

The largest and most notable entertainment

was given to the Prince of the Belgians, who made a visit to this country at that time, and spent some days at Washington. His expected presence was announced officially by Count Lichtervelde, the representative of his government. His first official entertainment was necessarily at the White House, where it was arranged that he should dine on Friday evening with the President. On Saturday evening the Minister had planned to entertain the Prince at a dinner and reception. When the Vice-President and Mrs. Hobart invited him through the Minister to a dinner and reception on the following Monday evening, Countess Lichtervelde, wife of the Minister, replied that the Prince expected to leave Washington on Monday morning, but that he would be pleased to accept the invitation for Sunday. To this Mrs. Hobart answered that they never entertained on Sunday, but she hoped that the Prince would remain until Monday, and do them the honor of dining with them then. He consented to this, and was entertained with the ambassadors and other distinguished persons at dinner, and afterward received with the family those invited for the evening. As they went to the table the national air of Belgium was played, and after that in succession the national air of each ambassador present. To this graceful compliment each ambassador in turn raised his glass to Mrs. Hobart and bowed.

Similar attentions were paid to the Anglo-

American Joint High Commission, of which Lord Herschell was the head. At the beginning of the sessions of the commission Lord Herschell fell and broke his leg. No serious results were apprehended, but the shock of his fall caused his death. On the day before he died Mrs. Hobart sent him a basket of roses. When Mr. Hobart called later in the day Lord Herschell expressed his sincere thanks for her kindness and the hope that he would soon be able to call and thank her personally. This hope was not to be realized. The next day he died from heart weakness.

While social duties were accepted as official obligations, they were not perfunctorily carried out. They were enjoyed by Mr. Hobart. Undoubtedly they taxed his strength, but they also refreshed his spirits, and served a useful purpose in the harmonious work of the administration.

CHAPTER XXII

Failing Health and Changes

HUMAN vigor has a limit, and that limit is reached sooner when sorrow wastes the strength which hard work has weakened. Through these active days, filled with official and social duties, Mr. Hobart carried, hidden in his heart, a sadness which time did not assuage, nor honors charm away. The memory of the daughter he had lost was present with him, even when he was occupied in duties and taking part in social engagements. Labor and grief were, however, exhausting his vitality. At times he experienced a difficulty in breathing, and was compelled to confess he had a strange feeling of weakness and weariness. It began to be whispered, as if it could not be true, that his health was impaired. As he made no complaints and always appeared cheerful and active, the rumors which had alarmed his friends died away, and their fears were dismissed. Nevertheless, there was a serious heart trouble, which alarmed the physicians whom it became necessary to consult. The disease was not diagnosed at first as necessarily fatal, and it was hoped and expected that life could be pro-

longed, even if a cure could not be effected. For a time the serious nature of his trouble was not fully told to the family.

During the Congressional holiday of 1898-9, a severe attack of grip weakened his strength and aggravated the unfavorable symptoms. As instant relief needed to be given in the attacks to which he was liable at any time, the real condition of the case had to be made known to Mrs. Hobart, and she was given remedies to be employed in case of sudden seizure. She always carried them with her wherever they went. Her anxiety had no relief, even in scenes of enjoyment. It was with serious misgivings that she saw him return to his post and resume, with faithful attention, the duties of his office. Important questions of national interest were at this time under discussion, and the party of the administration was not entirely united on the measures proposed by the President. The issue of the Spanish war involved this nation in responsibilities, not only toward the island of Cuba, but also toward the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines. Strenuous opposition was made in the Republican party to the retention of the latter islands under the protection of this country. These earnest and sometimes bitter discussions carried the session of Congress far into the spring. The weather at that time was unusually warm, even for Washington. As was his custom, the President of the Senate was in the chair day after day, an attentive listener to the

debates. The long hours and the oppressive weather greatly debilitated him. And when the session came to an end, after he had delivered the closing address he was seriously overcome. He rallied quickly and recovered his powers, but his life at that moment was in imminent peril. He might easily have died before he left the chair. Little as he, or the Senators, apprehended the fact, he was never again to stand in his place and take up the gavel which he then laid down. It was confidently expected at that time—a confidence shared by Mr. Hobart—that a few months of rest would restore him to health.

His plans had been laid to make the summer vacation restful and helpful. The President and Vice-President had arranged to visit Senator Hanna at his winter home near Thomasville, Georgia, immediately after the adjournment of Congress; and to meet later in the summer at Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, where they had spent a part of their vacation pleasantly in the previous year. The unusual heat and humidity, added to the fatigue of the journey, affected Mr. Hobart unfavorably, and it became necessary to make a change at once. He and his family returned after a brief stay at Thomasville to Washington, and sought rest at their home there until they could decide what was best to be done.

A cool and invigorating air was essential for the patient. Normanhurst, near Long Branch, was selected as seeming to meet all the require-

ments of a semi-invalid. The house was commodious, the grounds were ample and well shaded, and the ocean was near enough to give the benefit of healthful breezes. It was easily accessible, and yet privacy was possible. The region was familiar to him, and in the changes which had occurred since his boyhood there was much to awaken interest and recall pleasant memories of his youthful days. The place seemed exactly suited for the needs of the patient, who had now to be recognized as an invalid who required quiet and care.

The condition of the Vice-President became now a matter of public knowledge and concern. The effects of disease were soon too plainly evident to be concealed, but the facts were kept back as far as possible. The newspapers were to him now of peculiar interest, since all work had been forbidden. He was able to be about the house and grounds when not suffering from pain, and to the papers he turned day by day as connecting him still with the life in which most of his days had been passed. It was undesirable for him, as a patient, that the facts of his case should be published and discussed where they might come under his own eyes. As far as possible, therefore, the family kept any statements of the character of his disease and his real condition from the reporters. With a courage which never betrayed its fears and never faltered, the one who knew all the facts, and watched every movement and every

change with a wife's devotion, guarded him from a knowledge of his danger.

Every effort was made to divert the patient and assist nature to resist disease. At times hope revived, and it seemed as if recovery might be possible. All work was forbidden, and for the first time since he assumed the responsibilities of life he was truly idle. Hours and days were spent on the piazzas, and under the trees, in absolute rest. It became a diversion for this active man of affairs to watch and to feed the gold fish swimming in a pool on the grounds. He knew them separately, and gave to each one the name of some distinguished friend. He took occasional drives when his strength permitted over the fine roads in that region. Scarcely a day passed when one or more of his friends did not come to inquire about him and speak a word of cheer and hope. And so the season passed into the summer, with alternate hopes and fears.

As the time approached when by previous agreement the Vice-President was to meet the President at Plattsburg, partly from the long habit of keeping appointments and partly from the restlessness of sickness and idleness, he resolved, contrary to the advice of his physicians, to go there. So strongly was his mind set upon this purpose, it was thought best to yield to his wishes. Accordingly the family went in August to this pleasant summer retreat, making the journey as easy as possible. But the constant excitement

and bustle caused by the presence of the President and members of the Cabinet at that place told unfavorably upon his condition. Fainting spells and loss of sleep alarmed those who understood the seriousness of his case, and it became necessary to make another change. It was not thought advisable to go to the Paterson home at that season of the year, and they returned to Normanhurst. So anxious was the President about his colleague, that he changed his plans in order to accompany him and see him safely settled in the home by the sea. The party arrived by special train at Long Branch in the early morning of August 25th.

At that season the New Jersey coast is thronged with people seeking the relief of ocean breezes from the heat of adjoining cities. The announcement of the coming of the President drew to the station at seven o'clock in the morning an immense throng. A military tournament was then being held in Hollywood Park, and a detail from the troops there assembled had been chosen to act as an escort for the President, while a battery stationed near by was to fire a salute. The noise of the train and of the guns, with the movement of the soldiers, so excited the horses attached to Mr. Hobart's carriage that they could scarcely be controlled, and it was only by the most dexterous management of the driver that they were prevented from trampling on a reporter who had been knocked down from his bicycle. On their arrival at the house, delegations came to ask the President

to review the troops assembled, and to attend a public gathering at Ocean Grove in the large auditorium. As the President and Mrs. McKinley were to start the next day for Pittsburg, every hour of the day was filled with the acceptance of these invitations, and the coming and going of those who desired to pay their respects to the chief executive. At seven o'clock the next morning Mr. Hobart attended his guests to the train, and in the afternoon reviewed the troops assembled at Hollywood Park. This review drew large numbers to the scene. There were assembled seven companies from different regiments of the National Guard of New York, with Troop C of Brooklyn and the Wilson Battery. Two companies of United States marines were also present, while the gunboat Scorpion, a converted yacht, was anchored off the shore. The exertion and excitement of these scenes greatly exhausted Mr. Hobart, and during the review he suffered one of those severe attacks of pain to which he had now become subject. It was evident that, if his life was to be prolonged, all scenes of excitement must hereafter be avoided.

During this period of residence on the coast, a painful duty was laid upon him, which loyalty and friendship forbade him to refuse. He was asked by the President to inform General Alger, the Secretary of War, that his resignation would be accepted. In the conditions disclosed by the war with Spain, and in the conduct of the war,

there was much that awakened the shame and aroused the indignation of the nation. When war was declared, the army of the nation was composed of 26,040 men. Between April 21, 1898, the date of the declaration, and May 25, in two successive calls, the army was increased to 200,000 men. The machinery of the government proved altogether inadequate to assemble this number in camps, and to provide shelter, clothing, and arms for them. No part of the \$50,000,000 put under the control of the President by Congress could legally be used to supply immediate needs for defence. The volunteer regiments had to be armed with the antiquated Springfield rifles. Of the 2,362 pieces of ordnance, provided for by the Endicott Board in 1885, only 151 were in position in the coast defences. For the heavy guns there were in store fewer than twenty rounds of ammunition for each, and there was not a single pound of smokeless powder. When these facts came to be known, the nation was stirred with indignation and fear. Public opinion demanded a victim on whom the blame could be laid. Naturally, but unreasonably, the Secretary of War was attacked. He was blamed for conditions which existed before he took office, and for matters over which it was impossible for him to have control. No one seemed to remember that the administration had resisted the declaration of war as long as possible; that for years Congress had refused to increase the army; that the defences

of our shores on two oceans were inadequate in strength and material; that our arsenals had an insufficient supply of arms of various patterns and almost all out of date. The realization of this shameful condition created a panic on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. It was the weakness of Spain, rather than the strength of this nation, that saved us from incalculable losses.

Secretary Alger could not fail to learn from the daily papers that he was severely censured. To relieve the administration, he offered his resignation to the President, who declined to accept it. Unfortunately, at this time in the political field events occurred which prevented the President from resisting the demands of the people. It was felt necessary to make a change, and John Hay, Secretary of State, was asked to inform Secretary Alger of the decision. He declined the task, and the Vice-President, as a warm personal friend of General Alger, was asked to perform this unpleasant duty. Attorney-General Griggs went to Long Branch, as the messenger of the President, to ask this service from Mr. Hobart, who, as usual, accepted the duty in loyalty and friendship. Secretary Alger went to Long Branch to visit his sick friend, and the President's decision was broken to him. The news was unexpected, and was received with surprise and pain. When the Secretary left the house it was evident that his feelings had been deeply wounded. But the reflections of the night made him realize that the

kindness of a friend had caused Mr. Hobart's acceptance of the painful duty. He returned in the morning, and with feelings deeply stirred as he saw his true friend sitting on the piazza, and so evidently showing the effects of sickness, to the honor of his manhood, General Alger ran and threw his arms about him and kissed him. The old friendship was restored, and remained unbroken to the end.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Death of the Vice-President

AS the summer passed away it became evident that Mr. Hobart had lost strength, and that all hope of his recovery must be given up. It was decided best therefore to return to his home at Paterson. There were days, even yet, when it seemed as if life might be indefinitely prolonged, but it was with the feeling that the battle was lost, and that the final retreat had begun, that the return to Paterson was made. There can be little doubt that he recognized the fact, though he welcomed the thought of going back to the home he loved, sacred with memories of many joys and of one great sorrow. The family returned to Paterson September 20, 1899. The brief public life of the Vice-President, which had lasted only a little more than two years, was ended.

In the first year of his office a rumor was spread abroad that Mr. Hobart had died suddenly, but so quickly was the statement denied that it did not cause any excitement. The reason for such a rumor has never been discovered.

The condition of the patient could no longer be concealed, and it was thought best to announce

the fact that his public career was closed. Announcement was accordingly made that he would not be able to preside over the Senate at the approaching session of Congress. It was generally understood that this announcement was a declaration that there was no hope of recovery. He was able for a few times to drive out for a short distance. But from this time he was entirely confined to his room, and few of his friends ever again saw him alive.

The public announcement of his withdrawal from the duties of his office awakened a deep interest in his condition throughout the country, and from this time on there was a constant endeavor by reporters of the papers to learn daily the condition of the patient. He was still able and eager to read the papers when not suffering severe pain, and it seemed necessary, both to the family and the physicians, that he should not see daily a report of his condition, and a discussion of his case. For his sake they felt it necessary to withhold all the information which they could. This aroused constant efforts on the part of the reporters, who, as the disease made progress and the end seemed to be approaching, hovered around the house by night as well as day to obtain news from any and every source. As relief came after severe attacks of pain, and strength returned after exhaustion, it was possible at times to say that the patient was comfortable and even improved. In this way, though there was absolutely

no hope at any time, contradictory stories appeared, and even up to the very last, unwarranted statements were made in the newspapers that he would soon resume the duties of his office.

Many friends, longing to show their regard and sympathy, came to the house whom he was unable to see, but whose visits cheered him. All these attentions were felt deeply by the sufferer. He was always eager to know the names of those who called, and his often repeated injunction was, "Treat my friends well." He never lost his interest in his friends or in affairs.

Within the home, the oft-repeated miracle of love, sustaining the wife for tasks beyond human strength and endurance, was witnessed. No delusion was cherished by the faithful watcher and nurse, who, hiding her fears, with cheerful countenance and helpful words revived hope and life in the sufferer by her constant ministry. The romance of youthful days made beautiful the service of love in these hours of trial, and awakened sympathy in thousands of hearts all over the land. Many kind words came to that anxious home, and many prayers were offered that the useful life might be spared, and, if not, that strength might be given to the wife to endure to the end. These were granted. Except in the severe paroxysms of pain little needed to be done. At times the pain was so intense that his head would be covered with moisture, and a handkerchief passed over it would be as wet as if it had been dipped in water. Dur-

ing the latter part of his sickness the patient could not take a reclining position without a sense of suffocation, and the only sleep obtained was while he sat on the edge of the bed and leaned forward, resting his head on a table. A nurse, who had been for many years with the family whenever sickness entered the home, was the only assistant needed or desired in the sick-room. Through those weeks of pain, Alice Wardle gave untiring and faithful service to the sufferer.

During this period the President kept in almost daily communication with the home in Paterson, sending messages of sympathy and hope. At one time it was reported to him the patient had given up hope, and had made up his mind it was idle to struggle any longer. At once he sent a message urging Mr. Hobart to rally his courage and make a new effort, and at the same time sent Dr. Rixey, his official medical attendant, to strengthen the appeal and add his advice.

The limit of endurance was now fast approaching, and it became evident that any day, or any hour, might bring the end. No one realized more clearly than Mr. Hobart the inevitable change that must come. He had given up all that made life dear to him, and had borne disappointment and pain without a murmur. With the same self-control and resignation he awaited death. Because life was so precarious that a little excitement might be fatal, no persons had been admitted to the sick-room for weeks. The day

before his death, his pastor, who had known him for many years, and was tenderly attached to him from long acquaintance and many acts of kindness, was permitted in an interval of relief from pain to see him for a few brief moments. In perfect composure and consciousness he expressed his unchanged confidence in Jesus Christ, the Lord and Saviour of men, as his Lord and Saviour, and his sure trust in Him as the Saviour of his soul. It was evident that death was at hand, and that the end might come at any moment.

About noon on Monday, November 20, a marked change appeared. He said nothing to indicate that he thought the end was at hand, but it was evident that his strength was failing, and at times his suffering was severe. At intervals of relief he slept in the afternoon and evening. About midnight he rallied and spoke to Mrs. Hobart concerning some matters to which he wished her to attend. Then he fell asleep, and never woke on earth. The world in which he awoke is the world in which there is no pain, and where all tears are wiped away. The cause of his death was dilatation of the right heart, due to myocarditis, an inflammation of the muscles of the heart which prevents the performance of their functions. He had worked in life with diligence and success; he had bowed in sorrow with submission; he had struggled in sickness with courage and patience; he had resigned health and place and power without a murmur; and now he yielded

his life to God who gave it with faith and hope. Many good wishes and fervent prayers had been offered for his recovery all over the country. But it was not to be. In Paterson, and no doubt in other places also, Hebrew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant had with united hearts joined in these petitions in public worship and private devotions.

Garret A. Hobart, Vice-President of the United States, died at half-past eight o'clock on Tuesday morning, November 21, 1899. There were present at his death Mrs. Hobart and his son, Garret Augustus, jr., the only surviving child; Dr. Newton, his family physician, and Mrs. Newton; and the nurse Alice Wardle. Frederick Evans, his secretary, who had been at the house for some weeks, was in an adjoining room.

He was the sixth Vice-President to die in office, and four of them expired in the month of November. The names of those who died in office were George Clinton of New York, who died in 1812, aged seventy-three; Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, who died in 1814, aged seventy; William R. King of Alabama, who died in 1853, aged sixty-seven; Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, who died in 1875, aged sixty-three; Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, who died in 1885, aged sixty-six; and Garret Augustus Hobart of New Jersey, who died in 1899, aged fifty-five.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Reception of the News of Mr. Hobart's Death

THE news of the death of Mr. Hobart was first communicated to the President. Early in the morning an attempt had been made to inform him by telephone of the approaching dissolution of his friend, but communication with the White House could not then be obtained. The news, though not unexpected, profoundly moved the President, and deeply affected Mrs. McKinley. The President felt that he had lost a faithful friend and wise counsellor, and Mrs. McKinley that ties of close intimacy and regard were now broken. A telegram expressing his sense of loss and his sympathy for the family was immediately sent to Mrs. Hobart, and by the President's orders the doors of the White House were closed to all visitors, and the flag over the building placed at half-mast. Later in the day the President announced to the nation the death of the Vice-President in the following proclamation:

[BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES]

A PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

Garret Augustus Hobart, Vice-President of the United

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States, died at his home at 8:30 o'clock this morning. In him the nation has lost one of its most illustrious citizens, and one of its most faithful servants. His participation in the business life and the law-making body of his native State was marked by unswerving fidelity, and by a high order of talents and attainments; and his too brief career as Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate exhibited the loftiest qualities of upright and sagacious statesmanship. In the world of affairs he had few equals among his contemporaries. His private character was gentle and noble. He will long be mourned by his friends as a man of singular purity and attractiveness, whose sweetness of disposition won all hearts, while his elevated purposes, his unbending integrity, and whole-hearted devotion to the public good deserved and acquired universal esteem.

In sorrowing testimony of the loss which has fallen on the country, I direct that on the day of the funeral the executive offices of the United States shall be closed, and all the posts and stations of the Army and Navy shall display the national flag at half-mast; and that the representatives of the United States in foreign countries shall pay appropriate tribute to the illustrious dead for a period of thirty days.

In witness whereof I have set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-first day of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-fourth.

By the President

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

JOHN HAY, Secretary of State.

As the news spread through the city of Washington, the members of the Cabinet came to the White

House to consult with the President about the steps to be taken to express the respect of the administration for the memory of the Vice-President. It was decided that Attorney-General Griggs, an intimate friend and fellow-townsmen of Mr. Hobart, should go at once to Paterson to learn Mrs. Hobart's wishes, and in accordance with them make arrangements for the attendance of the President and Cabinet at the funeral services. Later, Colonel Bright, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, went also to Paterson to make arrangements for the attendance of members of the Senate and House of Representatives. And still later Captain Garden, of the Capitol Police, followed to ask that he and eight of the force under him should be permitted to bear the body from the house to the church. The artless expression of one of the pages shows genuine feeling: "He understood us fellows better than most men. He was the right sort, down to the ground, and there is n't a fellow at the Capitol who does n't feel as if he had lost some one who belonged to him."

In the city of Washington both official and social circles sought in every way to show their respect for the dead. All the departments of the Government were closed on the day of the funeral. The Post-office Department directed that all post-offices in the country should be closed between the hours of two and four on Saturday, when the funeral services were to be held. Under similar

orders the offices of collectors of customs and internal revenue were closed on that day. The social engagements of official persons for the day of the funeral were cancelled. Signs of mourning appeared not only on the public buildings, but also on places of business and private houses. On the embassies and ministries the flags of the nations represented were placed at half-mast. According to established custom, these representatives of foreign nations did not attend the funeral. They called officially on the President to express the sympathy of their governments in the national loss, and their personal sorrow.

From every part of the country, north and south, east and west, came touching tributes of sorrow and respect. The bell at Independence Hall was tolled, and flags at half-mast were displayed on the public buildings in Philadelphia. Throughout the States in general, both at the capitals and large cities and even in small towns, there were similar indications of national grief. In every newspaper there were editorials testifying to the esteem and affection which the Vice-President had won, with long accounts of his life.

Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of the State of New York, issued this proclamation:

[STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER]

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR

I announce with profound grief the death of Garret A. Hobart, Vice-President of the United States. He was a

public servant of tried capacity and stainless integrity, who in his high office exerted an influence for good, the extent of which is best realized by those who had been most intimate with him. New York joins with the rest of the nation in mourning his loss and paying homage to his high character.

Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, Governor, as a mark of the high regard and esteem, in which the deceased was held by the people of this State, do direct that the flags upon all the public buildings of this State, including the armories and asylums, be displayed at half-mast up to and including Saturday, November 25th, the day of the funeral, and request that the citizens of the State unite in appropriate marks of respect to the memory of the deceased.

Exchanges, boards, banks, business corporations, and associations, benevolent, social, and political passed resolutions of regret and respect. At the Navy Yard in Brooklyn work ceased, and on all the vessels flags were placed at half-mast. At Fort Hamilton, a national salute of twenty-one guns was fired at reveille, and repeated at sunset at "evening colors." For thirty days the officers of the army and navy wore as a badge of mourning, a crape band on their uniforms. Memorial services were held in many places throughout the country on the day of the funeral.

Similar marks of respect were paid to the memory of the Vice-President in the dependencies of the nation, in Porto Rico, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Philippines. On all embassies and consulates in foreign lands flags at half-mast announced the respect and sympathy of the nation. In many European cities the American colonies

met to express their feelings of sincere grief for the loss of one whose name was known and honored in their temporary residences.

In the State of New Jersey, which had honored Mr. Hobart with every office he would accept, and which was honored by him, the feeling of sorrow was general and personal. He was known to all and loved by all of its citizens. The Governor of the State, Foster M. Voorhees, issued the following proclamation formally announcing the death of Mr. Hobart.

Garret A. Hobart, Vice-President of the United States died this morning at his home in Paterson. It is with sincere sorrow that the Executive announces his death to the people of his State. He was a man distinguished for his noble and generous traits of character, and for the eminence of his services in State and National affairs.

By counsel and by deed he has shaped and directed public affairs in a degree that has fallen to the lot of few Jerseymen. Possessed of quick and unerring judgment, endowed with rare executive abilities, fair and courteous in conduct, and withal possessed of a winning personality, he proved himself especially fitted for the exalted position to which he had been called by his countrymen.

He was clean in his great office. He has brought great honor to himself, his native State, and to the country which he so dearly loved. His life was exemplary. In every relation, whether public or private, he won and held the confidence and affectionate regard of all.

The people of New Jersey have cause to feel an especial pride in the honor which he has brought to them. It is right that they should pay to the memory of a citizen, so beloved and so worthy, every token of respect.

Now, therefore, I, Foster M. Voorhees, Governor of the State of New Jersey, do direct that the public buildings be draped in mourning for thirty days, and that until and including the day of his burial the flags thereon be placed at half-mast, and that during the funeral services the public offices be closed.

If the nation and the people of the State felt so deeply the death of Mr. Hobart what shall be said of the grief of the citizens of Paterson, every one of whom regarded him with genuine affection! As his death became known from the tolling of the bells of mills and churches, business came to an end for a time. The citizens stopped each other on the streets to talk about the friend whom they had lost, each one having some personal memories to narrate. The Mayor, John Hinchcliffe, issued this proclamation:

Whereas, God in His infinite mercy has seen fit to remove from his post of usefulness our beloved and honored citizen, and Vice-President of the United States, Garret A. Hobart, and it becomes us to bow to His divine will and to ask that His mercy and blessings may rest upon us as a community in our affliction—

Now, therefore, I, John Hinchcliffe, Mayor of the City of Paterson, in accordance with expressed desires of our citizens, do hereby recommend that upon the day of the funeral obsequies of our late Vice-President, the public schools, offices, and all places of business be closed throughout the day, that the people refrain from their usual avocations, and assemble in their accustomed places of worship at the hour of 11 A.M., there to engage in ceremonies befitting the solemn occasion, and that all bells of the city be tolled between the hours of 9 and 11 A.M., and 1 and 2 P.M. of that day.

As the services were held on Saturday contrary to the first expectation, parts of the proclamation of Mayor Hinchcliffe became inoperative. Those of the courts of law in session in the city immediately adjourned. The citizens met in the City Hall later in the day and in formal action expressed the desire to have the funeral services placed under their charge, and appointed large committees of prominent citizens to carry into effect their wishes. It was a matter of profound regret to the citizens of Paterson to which assent was only given out of respect for the dead, that they could have so small a place in the last services for their beloved fellow-citizen. But he had become a national character, and the first place necessarily had to be given to the national representatives. Every association of every kind in the city, educational, benevolent, financial, and political, adopted resolutions of sorrow and regret.

The intimate friends of the family as soon as they heard the news came to the home offering sympathy and services. One touching evidence of feeling was given by one of the Chinese residents, whom Mr. Hobart had befriended. He came to the house with flowers which he asked might be placed near the body of him who had given him help in trouble. If loving sympathy could assuage grief, and words of affection heal hearts that were wounded, those who mourned in that home of sorrow would have found comfort and healing.

CHAPTER XXV

Arrangements for the Funeral

AS has been said it was the earnest desire of the authorities and the people of Paterson that they might be permitted to have charge of the funeral services of their best loved and honored citizen. They proposed to take the body on the day selected for the funeral to lie in state in the City Hall, and afterward to hold memorial services in the armory, where, a little more than three years before, they had testified on the occasion of his nomination, to their high esteem for him. The State of New Jersey was equally ready to pay honor to the dead, but the nation in its highest representatives claimed the right to have charge of the funeral services. To this higher claim the State and the city reluctantly and sorrowfully yielded. In their acquiescence in this claim, which shut them out from this privilege and from almost any part in these expressions, they showed a noble evidence of their regard for their fellow-citizen. At the services which were held at the church with which Mr. Hobart was officially connected, there was room for scarcely more than a score of the citizens of

Paterson, because of the large number of distinguished persons and government officials who had come to pay this mark of respect and affection to the dead. With deepest regret the situation was accepted, and every effort was made by the inhabitants to show their feelings of sorrow and regard, and suitably to entertain those who came to the city to attend the funeral services. One who was present said: "No tribute that tongue can pay can be as grand as the tribute paid by the people of his adopted city as he lay in death in Carroll Hall."

Although a proper respect for his office made a public funeral a necessity, Mrs. Hobart desired that all the arrangements should be as simple and quiet as possible. As Vice-President, the marks of respect paid to a general in the army were his due. But no military display was desired by the family. It was evident, however, that great crowds of people would visit Paterson on the day of the funeral, and that the streets could not be kept clear for the funeral procession by the police of the city alone. The Secretary of War, therefore, issued orders for two companies of the Fifth Artillery of the United States Army from Forts Wadsworth and Hamilton to go to Paterson for this purpose on the day of the funeral. Under Captains Adams and Lomia, without martial music, the soldiers on their arrival marched to the armory where they were fed, and then proceeded to the house, and opened

a way through the crowds for the procession to pass to the church. They rendered an efficient and necessary service.

In response to the urgent desire of the citizens, the doors of Carroll Hall were opened from two o'clock until six on the afternoon preceding the funeral, that those who desired might look upon the face of the dead for the last time. It was estimated that not fewer than twelve thousand persons passed by the coffin during those hours. When the time expired many still were waiting to be admitted. Some of the most intimate friends of Mr. Hobart stood by the coffin through these hours.

Before his death Mr. Hobart had given expression to his wishes with regard to his funeral. The religious services he had committed to his pastor. He had selected for the pall-bearers among his most intimate friends the following persons:

John W. Griggs,	J. Franklin Fort,
E. T. Bell,	George F. Baker,
Franklin Murphy,	E. A. Walton,
J. W. Congdon,	William Barbour.

The honorary bearers appointed by the Senate were:

Senator Frye, of Maine,	Senator Fairbanks, of Indiana,
Senator Hanna, of Ohio,	Senator McMillan, of Michigan,

Senator Sewell,
of New Jersey,
Senator Kean,
of New Jersey.

Senator Daniel,
of West Virginia,
Senator Cockrell,
of Missouri.

Those appointed by the House of Representatives were:

D. B. Henderson,
of Iowa,
John J. Gardner,
of New Jersey,
R. Wayne Parker,
of New Jersey,
Charles J. Joy,
of Missouri,

W. P. Hepburn,
of Iowa,
John Dalzell,
of Pennsylvania,
G. B. McClellan,
of New York,
J. F. Rixey,
of Virginia.

It was decided to hold the public services at the Church of the Redeemer, and everything was carefully arranged as far as possible to make them impressive and reverent. The church was decorated not in sombre colors of hopeless grief, but in colors of life and hope. Deep bands of smilax were wound about the pillars and festooned from one to another, and in them were entwined white chrysanthemums and roses. The pulpit and the place for the organist and choir were almost hidden by plants and flowers. Every seat in the church was assigned to a special person who had indicated an intention to be present, and had received from Mr. Evans a card of invitation.

In order that perfect quiet might be preserved, no persons were admitted who could not be seated. So large was the number of official persons from Washington and the State, who had indicated their intention to be present, tickets could not be furnished to more than one in ten of those who desired to attend as delegates from exchanges, banks, and corporations. On no similar occasion outside of the city of Washington had so many of the members of the Houses of Congress been in attendance. The *New York Sun* said of the assemblage gathered in the church: "No more notable congregation ever sat in an American church." In Appendix IV will be found a complete list of those who were present as officials.

Two special trains left Washington for Paterson on that Saturday. One train, bearing the President and his Cabinet, the Chief-Justice and Justices of the Supreme Court left there at 6.55 in the morning; the other train starting five minutes later carrying the members of Congress. They reached Paterson about one o'clock. The official representatives of the State came on special and regular trains, and were met at the stations and escorted to the Hamilton Club where they were entertained, and then proceeded to the church in a body before the procession reached there.

It was estimated that not fewer than fifty thousand persons came to Paterson on that day by regular and special trains, all animated by the

desire to pay respect to the dead, and to witness signs of mourning and regard rarely displayed. With the citizens this multitude in solid masses of people on the sidewalks and lawns filled the streets from the house to the church, and from the church to the cemetery, a distance of two miles.

The house was filled with flowers sent by personal friends, officials of the city, and numerous associations. The British Ambassador, the German Ambassador, and the Ambassador from Russia sent wreaths of flowers.

The members of Congress, the Cabinet, and the Supreme Court were taken to the house a short time before the service to be held there began. When the President arrived, Mr. Evans met him at the door, and said: "Mr. President, Mrs. Hobart desires to see you." He passed upstairs where the family was to remain during the brief service at the house. Few words were spoken, but with broken voice he said: "No one outside of this home feels this loss more deeply than I do." This chapter finds a fitting end in the letter which on his return, after the affecting scenes of the day, he sent to Mrs. Hobart:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON,
Nov. 26, 1899.

DEAR MRS. HOBART:

We reached here at eleven-thirty last night. I found Mrs. McKinley comfortable, and deeply interested in the events of the day, and so anxious about you and Junior. I told her all that you said, the loving messages of your hus-

band, your noble courage, the loving devotion of your son, the dignified and impressive services, the countless tokens of affection at home and church and cemetery sent by admiring friends, the beautiful tribute of your pastor, and Dr. Shaw's touching prayer, and then the striking manifestations of love and respect for the Vice-President from his neighbors and fellow townsmen, who were all sad mourners at the obsequies of their friend.

All on our train were profoundly moved. It was a hard day for you, but you bore it all so bravely in our presence. We have talked of you many, many times to-day, and of your loneliness on this first Sunday of your separation. I write only that I may again tell you how we feel for you and Hobart, Jr., and wish we had the power to mitigate your grief and loss. Mrs. McKinley bids me say (and I join most heartily in the invitation) that when you come to Washington you must make the White House your home. You shall be quiet and protected. Bring Junior. If you advise us we will meet you at the train. Mrs. McKinley sends love to you and Junior, in which I beg leave to unite.

Your friend,

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Funeral Services

THE day of the funeral was clear, though the air was cold. The silence in the city was unbroken that morning by the usual call of steam whistles to the labors of the day. All business was practically suspended. As the day advanced, through the streets there moved a constant stream of citizens and visitors toward the house of the late Vice-President. In the morning and in the afternoon the bells of the city were tolled. In many places throughout the country memorial services were held, business was suspended during the hours of the services in Paterson, and military honors were paid at every army post.

Early in the day crowds began to assemble around the house and along the streets through which the procession was to pass. For hours before the appointed time of the public service the multitudes filled the walks and lawns and encroached on the streets on the way to the church. Had it not been for the troops present it would have been impossible for the procession to reach the church.

The religious services at the house were attended by the officials from Washington, who, with the President, were seated in the library and picture gallery. The many personal friends, for whom no place could be found in the church, occupied the other side of the main floor. The family and relations of the Vice-President remained in the upper hall. Before arrivals at the house Mrs. Hobart and her son had taken their last look at the body of the one so dearly loved. The services at the home were necessarily brief and were conducted by the pastor, who read the Twenty-third Psalm and offered prayer. The choir of the Metropolitan Church of New York then sang the hymn *Peace, Perfect Peace*, after which the benediction was pronounced.

As soon as the coffin was closed, the doors of the house were opened, and a word of command called the military force to attention. Captain Garden with eight men of the Capitol police came forward to bear the coffin to the hearse. In the meantime the President, with Secretary Hay and Chief-Justice Fuller, were conveyed in a carriage to the church by another route. There they were received by the city and State officials who were already in the seats assigned them, and rose as the party entered. The procession was immediately formed. The pall-bearers preceded the hearse, the family followed in carriages, and after them came the long line of Senators, wearing broad white scarfs, and the members of the House.

Through the narrow lane kept open by the soldiers between the dense masses of people they moved silently and reverently to the church.

It was by the desire of the Vice-President that his pastor and friend had charge of the services in the church. He was assisted in these services by the Rev. Dr. Charles D. Shaw, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Paterson, also a long time friend. It was expected that the Rev. Dr. Milburn, the Chaplain of the Senate, would be present and take some part in the services, but on the morning of the day of the funeral a telegram was received from him saying that his physician had forbidden his taking the journey. The two officiating clergymen with the officers of the church passed up the central aisle as the procession reached the door of the church, and returning led the way, the pastor reciting the sentences beginning with the words: "I am the resurrection and the life." While the family and members of Congress were taking their seats G. Mortimer Wiske, the organist, played Chopin's Funeral March.

The Rev. Dr. Shaw read from the Scriptures, parts of the Ninetieth Psalm, the Fourteenth Chapter of Job, and the Fifteenth Chapter of First Corinthians, and offered prayer. The chorus of sixty members of the Orpheus Club sang *Nearer, my God, to Thee*, which was a favorite hymn of Mr. Hobart. The Rev. Dr. Magie, the pastor, then spoke the words which follow and afterward offered prayer:

God alone is great. Before Him let us bow down in reverence and submission and hear His voice. "From everlasting to everlasting, He is God. Of old He laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of His hands. They shall perish, but He shall endure; yea all of them shall wax old as a garment, and as a vesture shall they be changed. Of His years there is no end. He doeth according to His will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth. None can stay His hand nor have any a right to say to Him, what doest Thou? We are of yesterday and know nothing because our days upon earth are as a shadow. We all do fade as a leaf. All lie down alike in the dust. Man being in honor abideth not. Dust returns to dust and the spirit unto God who gave it." In such words does God in His revealed word humble and instruct mortal man.

In this day of national calamity and grief it is fitting that we should come into the house of God, and bow in submission before the Most High God. Garret A. Hobart, the man whom this nation honors, the man whom it learned to trust, has fallen in death. "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

Peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than war

For those victories peace as well as war must pay the same costly price of toil and sacrifice, of suffering and if needful, of life. The statesman, no less than the warrior, has suffered and died for truth and liberty, humanity and God. And if to-day no warlike sound is heard and no military honors are paid, none the less do we know that this life was given in the service of his country, and that its last official duties were done under the very shadow of death.

This spirit of fidelity and courage was his by inheritance. The blood which flowed in his veins was from good English stock, and was mingled with the martyr blood of Dutch

and Huguenot ancestors. He would have been untrue to all his ancestral memories and tendencies, if he had not served the cause of freedom, of education, and of God. The ideals of his home life, under which he was trained, were of a high and holy character. They influenced and guided his life to its close. Had he lived as men ordinarily live, he might have reached the limit of fourscore years. He has died in the ripeness of his powers; full of honors, not of years.

We gather in this church in which he was a worshipper, and from its inception a trustee, and to which he gave its beautiful name, to bow before God, and to bless him for the life now taken from us. We, who reside in this city, and knew and loved him well as a friend and neighbor, recognize with grateful feelings the respect paid his memory, as the Vice-President of the United States, by those of high station and varied circles of activity in their presence here to-day. Yet in all our hearts we do him reverence less as the Vice-President than as the friend dear to us all. He possessed the genius of friendship in greater degree than any other gift.

It needs not that I should speak to-day of his public life and services. Prominent citizens and the press in all sections of the land and the proclamation of the President have done him noble justice. From the experience and training of many official duties in his native State, he entered on the high duties of the Vice-President of the United States. The office was to him no sinecure, much less a mere waiting on providence, but a trust which he had received from the nation, in which he would be found faithful. It became evident at once when he assumed the high office to which he had been elected, not merely that he possessed the dignity and capacity to preside over the deliberations of the Senate, but that he intended to do his duty with fairness and kindness. His brief term of service has gained for him the respect and friendship of the

whole Senate, irrespective of section or party, and has given to the office which he filled increased honor and influence.

To the President of the United States he gave true affection, unchanging confidence, and constant support. I may be permitted to say, even in this presence, that in private intercourse—speaking of the President—the words he most frequently used were: “He is a good man.” And I may be permitted to add that outside this bereaved home there is, I am sure, no more sincere mourner than the President of the United States.

Genial, kindly, hospitable, no one ever had more friends, no one ever had fewer enemies. Indeed it may be questioned if he had an enemy. He made friends, and never lost a friend. And yet he had opinions, and expressed them freely. He loved to say pleasant words, and to do kindly acts. His generosity was unbounded. No one can tell, no one knows the number or the greatness of the kind deeds which he was constantly doing. He was never too tired to speak a cheering word, or too busy to do a kind deed. He might have spared himself many times, but he loved to do kindly things. He must be written down “as one who loved his fellow-men.” It is written in the truest Book ever written, and proved in universal experience, “a man that hath friends must show himself friendly.” It is true still. The poor and lowly in this community feel that they lost a friend when Garret A. Hobart died.

It cannot be said of him that those did not know him, who did not know him in his home. But it can be said that those knew him best who knew him there. The load of business cares, the worry of political life were there, all and altogether, laid aside. In his most happy home, he found relief from every care, and carried from it day by day fresh courage and purpose. Alas, wherever greatest joys are found, we must find our keenest sorrow. On a pleasure trip in a foreign land, among strangers, he lost

the only daughter of this home—a most gentle, true, and loving spirit. He said in speaking of the death: “There seemed nothing left out that could add to the bitterness of this sorrow.” Yet he did not complain. He took up again the work of life and to many he seemed unchanged, but in that great sorrow was the beginning of this ending.

Here, where he was best known and loved, he came back to die. All that science and skill and care and love could do was done in vain. When on his nomination he received an ovation from our citizens, irrespective of party, in the words he spoke he employed the passionate words of Burns for Glencairn, to express his feelings for this city. To those words every heart of that vast multitude assembled responded. To that home, to which he came back with such satisfaction that for a time he seemed to rally, from every home in this city and in this State, and from multitudes of homes in this land, have been carried on the invisible cords of love and sympathy, help and hope drawn by prayer from the throne of Divine grace. How deeply all this touched his large heart, no words can tell. To what else than to these constant prayers can be ascribed the strength and courage above all that seemed possible to nature, that was given to her, who has been the joy of that home, and the never failing support of the weary days and nights of the patient sufferer, to enable her to watch and to cheer, to bear and to do all that was needful, all that was helpful, to the end.

If to-day we are called to learn the universal lesson associated with all human greatness—“vanity of vanities; all is vanity”—there are other lessons we may also learn as true, but more cheering. It is true that industry and perseverance win success; it is true that loving feelings awaken love; it is true that kind words are the best things to say and kind deeds the best things to do.

There is a sphere in every true man's life, which is too sacred for even the dearest friends to enter. It is the re-

lation of his soul to God. As his pastor, I may be allowed to say that in the full possession of his faculties, and in recognition of the inevitable end, he expressed his faith in Jesus Christ as his Saviour, and a firm hope of everlasting life.

We are to lay in the grave—the house appointed for all the living—this body, but in our hearts, Garret A. Hobart lives and will live while life endures.

After prayer by the pastor the large chorus sang the words so appropriate to this occasion:

Weary hands, O weary hands,
Resting now from life's endeavor,
From the conflict, from the fever,
Peaceful lying where ye fell,
O folded hands, farewell, farewell.

Gentle heart, O gentle heart,
Faithful service didst thou render,
Beating ever true and tender,
On thee lies the silent spell,
O loving heart, farewell, farewell.

Parted soul, O parted soul,
Passed beyond this earthly portal,
Entered thro' the gate immortal,
Into life no tongue can tell,
O weary soul, farewell, farewell.

The benediction was then pronounced, and the audience remained standing until those who were going to the cemetery passed out. It had been decided that the officials from Washington should not be asked to go to the cemetery after their long

journey, but the President would not consent to this, and with those who had been with him on the way to the church followed his friend to the Cedar Lawn Cemetery. All along the route of two miles crowds lined the road, and in the cemetery thousands gathered around the vault where the body was to be temporarily placed. The interior of the vault was lined with flowers taken from the house and the church. The services there were conducted by the clergymen who had officiated at the church, the pastor speaking the words committing the body to the grave, and the Rev. Dr. Shaw offering a brief prayer.

It deserves to be recorded, as an evidence of the kind heart and courtesy of the President, that before he left the cemetery he took the pains to speak to the clergymen and express his appreciation of the services. As soon as he could be taken to the train, it started on the way to Washington.

These were the honors rendered to the man, even more than to the Vice-President. He had gained no great victories over his country's foes; he had done no great deeds of renown, but he had won the hearts of men, the truest measure of a true man.

CHAPTER XXVII

Subsequent Action by Public Bodies on the Death of the Vice-President

AT the first session of the Senate of the 56th Congress of the United States, held December 4, 1899, the senior Senator from New Jersey, Mr. Sewell, formally announced to that body the death of the Vice-President and offered these resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has received with the deepest regret information of the death of Garret Augustus Hobart, late Vice-President of the United States.

Resolved, That the business of the Senate be suspended in order that the distinguished public services of the deceased and the virtues of his private character may be fittingly commemorated.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

These resolutions were "laid on the table to be called up at a convenient season in the near future." John Kean, the junior Senator from New Jersey, moved "as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Vice-President that the Senate do now adjourn."



On January 10, 1900, after the customary prayer by the Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. W. H. Milburn, in which special reference was made to the death of the Vice-President, the President pro tempore, Senator Frye, laid before the Senate the resolutions offered on the 4th of December. These resolutions were considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to. Twelve of the Senators spoke on this occasion, the opening and closing speeches being made by the Senators from New Jersey. On January 26th, similar action was taken in the House, when thirteen of the Representatives spoke; Representative Stewart, of Paterson, New Jersey, making the opening speech and Representative Gardner, from the same State, the closing speech. Fifteen States were represented by the several speakers. All of them gave expression to the warmest personal regard for the Vice-President and admiration for his character and public services. These addresses were printed by the Government, with an engraved likeness of Mr. Hobart, and form an honorable memorial of this distinguished public servant. According to the custom of the Senate, a marble bust of its late President has been placed in the Senate Chamber.

In the honors rendered to the memory of Mr. Hobart at the time of his funeral, his native State necessarily filled a subordinate place. The general sentiment of the citizens of New Jersey demanded that some formal expression should be made of their feelings toward the man who had given

such distinction to the State. The Legislature by the joint action of both houses held a memorial session at the State House in Trenton on February 21, 1900. John W. Griggs was selected by the Legislature to deliver on that occasion a memorial address. Besides the members of the Legislature there were present Governor Murphy, Senators Sewell and Kean, and many personal friends. The exercises were opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Magie. The address which followed, and which was printed by the State, was a faithful and eloquent portrayal of the life and work of Mr. Hobart. It is a just tribute to the man by one who had been intimately associated with him.

There was early set on foot in the city of Paterson a movement to put in some public place a memorial of the high regard entertained for its most honored citizen. A large committee was appointed at a public meeting held soon after the funeral at the City Hall to carry into effect the general desire. From it a smaller committee was appointed, of which E. T. Bell, president of the First National Bank, one of Mr. Hobart's most intimate friends, was made the chairman, to take charge of the matter. It was empowered to select the form of the memorial, to receive subscriptions, and to superintend the work. After much discussion in the papers and the committee, it was decided that the memorial should be a bronze statue of Mr. Hobart, to be placed on the plaza of the City Hall in front of its main entrance.

There was long delay over the selection of a design and in the execution of the work, and after the work was finished a still longer delay was deemed judicious because it was necessary to repair the City Hall after the great fire which destroyed almost the whole business section of the city in 1902. The design of the memorial, accepted under the advice of the National Sculpture Society, was made by Philip Martiny. It is a statue of heroic size, representing Mr. Hobart as Vice-President holding in his right hand a gavel resting on a fasces wrapped in the national flag. At his feet on the opposite side are books of law. The figure is about nine feet high and the pedestal of equal height.

For the erection of this statue \$15,000 was raised by the citizens and former residents of Paterson, aided by the gifts of a few personal friends outside the city. The statue was unveiled with public ceremonies on June 3, 1903, in the presence of ten thousand persons. After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Magie, Vice-Chancellor Stevenson on behalf of the citizens' committee presented the work to the city with the expressed hope, "that it may stand as long as the city of Paterson stands, testifying the love of our hearts for the man, the respect and honor and tenderness in which we hold his memory, and our pride in his great career." The Mayor, Mr. John Hinchcliffe, received the gift with appropriate words on behalf of the city. An address was delivered by John W. Griggs,

which closed with these words: "He has passed into history. His character and services to his country will never pass away. The testimony of his contemporaries will show the transcendency of his talents and justify the fond pride with which his friends have placed his statue in this place, and challenged the world to say whether he was worthy of the distinction." At the close of the address, Thornton B. Bell drew aside the flag which hid the statue from public view.

The body of Mr. Hobart now lies in a mausoleum erected in Cedar Lawn Cemetery just outside the bounds of the city of Paterson. This structure was designed to be as enduring as the work of human hands could be made. It was designed by Henry Bacon of New York City, who also superintended its erection. The order of architecture is what is known technically as Grecian Doric, the noblest form of that order. The building is thirty-eight feet long, nineteen feet broad and twenty-two feet high. The exterior walls are of granite, the pillars are monoliths, and the stones large and imposing. The roof is composed of only three great stones, the central one, forming the ridge, weighing forty-three tons. The door is of bronze in open work, and opposite to it is a window of stained glass, with a figure representing The Flight of the Soul. The interior of the structure is lined with marble. On both sides of the entrance are vaults, in one of which the body of the daughter, who



died in Italy, has been placed. In the centre of the building stands a double sarcophagus, in one side of which is placed the body of the late Vice-President. When the building was completed, the family with a few intimate friends assembled in it, and with religious services conducted by their pastor this tomb was dedicated. On the slab of marble over the sarcophagus, where Mr. Hobart's body was placed, are simply the words:

GARRET AUGUSTUS HOBART

1844-1899

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Character and Services of Mr. Hobart as Viewed by his Contemporaries

FOR the period of only two years and eight months was Mr. Hobart Vice-President of the United States. In this brief time his national reputation was made. It seems eminently proper that in this story of his life the estimates of his character and influence given by those, with whom as Vice-President he was associated, should find a place. The selection of these expressions is limited by the singular and interesting fact, that all of them reiterate the same general impression. They all speak of affection for the man as well as respect for the Vice-President. This regard is most fully expressed in letters from the Senators in returning thanks for a photograph sent to each one at the expressed wish of Mr. Hobart.

It is proper that the words of President McKinley should be first cited. In addition to the proclamation issued by the President to the country at the time of Mr. Hobart's death, he said in his message to Congress in December: "At the threshold of your deliberations you are called to

mourn with your countrymen the death of Vice-President Hobart, who passed from this life on the morning of November 21st last. His great soul now rests in eternal peace. His private life was pure and elevated, while his public career was ever distinguished by large capacity, stainless integrity, and exalted motives. He has been removed from the high office which he honored and dignified, but his lofty character, his devotion to duty, his honesty of purpose and noble virtues remain with us as a priceless legacy and example."

To these words may be added the following letter:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
January 1, 1900

DEAR MRS. HOBART:

Mrs. McKinley thought it would be appropriate to write you the first note which goes out from the White House under date of 1900; and so with it we send you and Junior our love and sympathy and good wishes. Just at this hour one year ago I called upon the Vice-President and recall the pleasant visit with you, most of the guests having retired. And my visit was most agreeable. How we miss you. How we missed you yesterday is the message Mrs. McKinley bids me send you.

You will be glad to know Mrs. McKinley stood the reception well, and looked so well. She remained a little over an hour, and is sitting by me while I write. We could not let the day pass without sending you affectionate and sympathetic greeting.

Mrs. McKinley sends much love to you both and believe me,

Truthfully yours,
WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Ex-President Cleveland, on hearing the news of his death, said: "In common with all good citizens, I heard the news of Vice-President Hobart's death with deepest regret. I never had known him or seen him till the inauguration day, when he assumed the duties of his official position. The slight intercourse on that occasion and my observations since of the manner in which he performed his official duties convince me that in the death of Vice-President Hobart the American people have lost a faithful and conscientious public servant."

In the Houses of Congress all the speeches were made in the unvarying tone of respect and friendship. The memorial session of the Senate was held on January 10, 1900. From Senator Sewell's long personal acquaintance with Mr. Hobart, his remarks on the private life and the character of his friend have greater interest than those made on his public services. He said: "The character of Mr. Hobart was as the open day; neither darkness nor shadow rested upon it. His conduct was ever just and honorable. The dignity of his manhood spurned all that was mean and worthless, and his virtues lent a charm of manner and social attractiveness that gave him prominence. . . . His acts of mercy and philanthropy—though many—were unproclaimed. His generous hospitality and good cheer flowed in a continual stream that found its source in the benevolence of his heart. The happiness of others was dearer to

him than his own, and the cardinal principles of his creed were sympathy and kindness. He loved to do good and sought for opportunities to accomplish it. His word was his bond, and those who knew him asked no other security."

Senator Daniel, of Virginia, speaking of his official service, said: "I venture to say the office of Vice-President was never filled by any one who met all of its responsibilities with more equal and uniform sufficiency, or discharged its duties with more acceptability to all concerned than did our beloved and lamented friend. . . . Nothing that happened in this hall escaped the eye of his alert attention. Our late Vice-President was the model presiding officer of a deliberative assembly."

There is placed here a letter received from Senator Daniel which Mr. Hobart greatly prized. It was in answer to a letter of congratulation on the Senator's re-election. It is as follows:

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

You are *our* President, and my appreciation of the fact warms into affectionate gratitude upon the receipt of your welcome salutations as I am again consigned to your care.

It is a bailment, I fear, without reward to the bailee, but the bailment felicitates itself that it is to be under such supervision as has happily fallen to its lot.

Skeptics doubt whether any party "saves the country" with as much certainty as every party claims to have done it as soon as it discovers itself on top, but there is no doubt that those that administer great places as you do, do a vast deal to make life worth living and to create that atmos-

phere in which patriotism becomes a hope and a joy as well as a creed and a duty.

I will be fortunate and happy if I may derive any such measure of profit from your example, as I have derived of pleasure and satisfaction in its contemplation.

And so, my dear Chief, I give you the right hand of a friendship which, instinctive upon acquaintance, has been cemented by association, and has grown with my admiration and respect with every renewal of contact, and I am honored that I may subscribe myself, as I am

Your Friend and obt. Servant,

JNO. W. DANIEL.

SENATE, Dec. 6, 1897.

Senator Cullom, of Illinois, paid this tribute to the kindly and great qualities of the late Vice-President: "We as Senators of the United States, comprising all shades of public opinion, and coming from all sections of our common country, are animated by a common desire to do honor to the memory of this man whom we had learned to love, and to place on the perpetual record of the Senate our tribute to his illustrious memory. The few years of my acquaintance with Garret A. Hobart have added to my love for the human race, and have stimulated every fibre of my being to a higher conception of the worth and value of a man of character. His integrity and good judgment were the basis of a reputation for ability, honor, and justice, which the entire people recognized. No one distrusted his sincerity. All who knew him instinctively relied upon his judgment. His life was stainless and his whole career, active

and successful as it was, contained nothing which, dying, he could wish to blot. Nothing received his approval which was not just and right. I do not recall a single decision made by him in this body which was ever reversed."

Senator Davis, of Minnesota, in the same strain said: "Something has been said in the remarks that have preceded as to his influence as a Vice-President. There was something in the large composition of the man which necessarily pressed itself upon every situation, social, business, or political, with which he was brought into contact."

Senator Morgan, of Alabama, added these words in his speech: "I doubt if the century has recorded a more perfectly rounded American character than that of Garret A. Hobart. He appeared to me as nearly a perfect representation of the manhood and nobility of the American character as any man I have ever read of, certainly as any man I have ever seen."

Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, referred in thoughtful words to Mr. Hobart's official influence, saying: "There is one conspicuous public service rendered by Mr. Hobart, which, I think, has not been understood and certainly has not been adequately appreciated. He restored the Vice-Presidency to its proper position, and lifted it up before the people to the dignity and importance which it merits. . . . Out of neglect and misconception, Mr. Hobart silently lifted his great office merely by the manner in which he filled it and

performed its duties. Quietly, firmly, and with perfect tact, he asserted the dignity of his position, never going too far and always far enough. Without knowing exactly why, people suddenly came to realize there was a Vice-President of the United States, that he held the second position in the Government, and that with the exception of the President he was the only man in the country holding office by the vote of the entire people. He regarded himself as a part of the administration, and as a representative of the policies which that administration had been chosen to carry into effect; as one of the President's friends, advisers, and supporters, equally interested with him in the success of the measures to which they were alike committed. When he came to Washington he was but little known outside his native State of New Jersey. When he died the whole country grieved, not because the Vice-President was dead, but because Garret A. Hobart was gone, who had in a time only too brief impressed himself upon them as a worthy holder of a great office, and as a distinguished public man."

Senator Caffery, of Louisiana, indorsed what had been said, adding: "I know his character and qualities have been portrayed before the Senate today in language too eloquent for me to attempt to rival or to equal. I know that they have uttered the living truth. I know that no word of praise that has fallen from the lips of those who have eulogized the deceased Vice-President has been

said beyond the truth. I know that all the Senators who have addressed us to-day have been animated solely by a desire to pay their tribute of respect and admiration, which we all, as American Senators, feel, to the memory of the late Vice-President."

Senator Chandler, of New Hampshire, proudly claimed him as a descendant of a citizen of his State, and spoke of him "as a man of rare gifts of person, mind, and manners, possessed of the highest native intelligence, with ability to meet the strongest men of the country in business negotiations, in legal contests, and in political management."

The proceedings in the Senate closed with the address of Senator Kean, of New Jersey, who spoke as follows of the sorrow of the State in the death of Mr. Hobart: "The State of New Jersey mourns, with the union of all the States, in the untimely death of her distinguished son, Garret A. Hobart. Great as the loss has been to the nation, the blow has fallen with heavier force, and with the sense of an intimate and personal loss upon the people of the city and State, among whom his busy and useful life has been spent. . . . Popularity came to him as naturally as if it were an endowment of his birth. He made friends as easily as he kept them. It seemed impossible for him to make an enemy. . . . I am here to-day to testify to the love that New Jersey bore for her distinguished

and lamented son—gone, alas, too early to his long rest.”

In the House of Representatives, speeches, similar in affection, respect, and sorrow to those in the Senate, were made on the occasion of the memorial session held January 26, 1900. All of these speeches are preserved in the memorial volume published by Congress. Many volumes could be made from the resolutions passed by various organizations, addresses in many cities, and articles in the newspapers on the life and character of the Vice-President. To these could be added expressions of respect and regard made for publication by members of the Cabinet, Governors of States, judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, and of various courts in New Jersey.

Some letters denote individual feelings which deserve remembrance, and are therefore inserted here. One from the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court follows:

WASHINGTON, NOV. 22, 1899.

DEAR MRS. HOBART:

The sad intelligence reached me yesterday afternoon at Richmond, Va., when I was holding court.

I write to assure you, though I feel the assurance is unnecessary, of the sincere sympathy of Mrs. Fuller and myself in your affliction.

The Vice-President has endeared himself to us all, and his death carries with it a sense of personal bereavement.

Our friends are miserable comforters under such circumstances, but I think those who mourn are glad to know

that they are sympathized with, though sympathy is so unavailing.

Very truly yours,
MELVILLE W. FULLER.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
Friday, 24 Nov., '99.

MY DEAR MRS. HOBART:

Among the many letters of sincere sympathy you will receive, I should like to add a few lines to tell you how grieved I am for you in the loss of such a noble, good husband as dear Mr. Hobart. He was so charming and so kind, and I shall never forget what a pleasure it was to be with him.

The long illness must have been a great trial, and whatever people may say regarding preparation for this separation, when it comes I believe the shock is always the same, with warning or none.

I have watched the reports all the summer and hoped his fine physique would win the battle.

I am truly grieved that it was not so.

All my family join me in sorrowing for you, but I was the one of us who knew him best.

Very sincerely yours,
MAUD PAUNCEFOTE.

1 WEST FRANKLIN STREET,
BALTIMORE,
Tuesday Evening.

DEAR MRS. HOBART:

Please let me add my word of sympathy in your great bereavement. You have been often in my mind, and your courage and devotion through his long and trying illness have won, I know, the admiration of his physicians.

Sincerely yours,
WM. OSLER.

1715 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR MRS. HOBART:

It is impossible for us—my wife and I—to express in any fitting words our heartfelt sympathy for you in your great sorrow. Why should we make the vain attempt! We are thankful that Mr. Hobart and you came into our lives. We are glad that we came to know something of his warm and generous nature. We can never think of him as other than a very personal friend. As such we shall miss him and mourn for him. It does not seem possible we shall see him no more. Such abounding life, such vital energy, such sweetness of spirit can never cease to be. Taken from our sight, but not extinguished!

“Who hath not learned in hours of faith
The truth to flesh and sense unknown,
That life is ever Lord of death
And love can never lose its own.”

Faithfully yours,
LYMAN J. GAGE,
CORNELIA W. GAGE.

DETROIT, NOV. 22, 1899.

DEAR MRS. HOBART:

Our hearts are broken!

Why! oh, why! Mrs. Alger and I ask ourselves constantly, should this be?

He, so noble, true, brave, and useful is snatched from you and the dear son in his prime, and when the country he was serving so well needed him so much.

God bless and keep you, dear friend, and give you strength to bear this heavy cross.

Mrs. Alger joins in love and deepest sympathy in this dark hour.

Sincerely your friend,
R. A. ALGER.

An anonymous expression, which found utterance in *The Outlook* of December 2, 1900, gives a phase of Mr. Hobart's kindness of heart not generally presented: "If a man gets into trouble and stops to think who can best help him out, the first name that suggests itself is that of Hobart. And he has at one time or other helped so many men, that no matter what happens when others are in trouble, he generally succeeds in his mission of relief, because he must ask the assistance of somebody whom he has helped in former times."

Among the many private expressions of high regard which were published at the time, two only can be quoted in this memorial, one of these deserves a place for its just and discriminating conception of Mr. Hobart's character and career, and the competency of the writer to form a correct and adequate judgment. It is from Hugh Herrick, a resident of Paterson, a journalist, and for years secretary to the late William Walter Phelps, and the author of the admirable biography of that man. Intimately acquainted with the private and public life of Mr. Hobart, and with the political conditions of the times, he is notably capable of forming a true estimate of the Vice-President. Mr. Herrick says:

Garret A. Hobart in many respects was a wonderful man. He was in the best sense of the term the architect of his own fortune. His rise to eminence was not helped by accident, by luck, or by the influence of family or powerful friends.

He began to hold positions of public trust as soon as he had attained his majority. In his earlier career he made an impression upon the public by giving legislative form and substance to what became some of the most valuable laws of New Jersey.

Although when elected Vice-President he had not been trained to statesmanship, he had no sooner taken the office when unforeseen circumstances and great national events thrust the onerous duties of a statesman upon him, and those duties he discharged with an ability that surprised and gratified the country. He made the Vice-Presidency a power that it had never possessed before.

His influence upon the policy and course of the national administration became potential, and the whole nation grew to feel safer in the knowledge that Garret A. Hobart was the second official of the Government and the confidential adviser of the President. At the time he left the Senate, already weighed down with the disease that proved fatal, he was the greatest individual force of the national government.

No individual ever better understood the peculiarities and motives of men, or was more adroit through all the walks of life in removing the dangers of a threatened storm or evading difficulties that might become perilous. He possessed the rare faculty of being able to satisfy the appeals and importunities of men without gratifying their demands.

His business foresight had seldom been surpassed, and as an organizer in business or politics he had few equals.

It was not in his nature to harbor resentment, or to cherish schemes of revenge, and this was one of the elements of his universal and deserved popularity.

Nature gave him a warm heart and an open and kindly disposition. He was consequently a sympathizing counsellor and valued friend. Many a fainting heart received from him encouragement and strength, and not a few

mourning households were comforted by his consolations and generosity.

We shall not soon look upon his like again.

The other expression is from the Very Rev. Dean McNulty, who is known and loved and honored by every citizen of Paterson, where for more than forty years he has been a faithful priest, a helpful friend of the poor, and a power for good. He said: "He was a fine man, bright and genial, and, as we all know, a prince of business men. He was a friend of everybody that needed a friend, and it was that which endeared him to so many. I have found him always ready to help the needy, and he has often surprised me by his willingness to aid when I hardly expected him to do so."

CHAPTER XXIX

Closing Words

NO one can have read the story of this life without recognizing as its distinguishing feature that Mr. Hobart was a man greatly beloved. Always and everywhere he attracted to himself those with whom he came in contact. In the volume of praise raised to his memory no note of discord was heard. It was literally true that "none named him but to praise."

It is also of interest to note that no one great deed of national importance enhanced his fame. He won no battle on a field of blood; he gained no great victory in forensic conflict; he grasped no fortune from daring speculation in the market. His path in life cannot be traced in blood, or tears, or ruins. Patient industry, faithful performance of duty, and unvarying kindness of heart marked all his way through life. His gains were not at the expense of others' losses. His work was on the lines of the development of resources, the application of energies, and the increase of values. Others shared in his success and were benefited by his plans. His achievements aroused neither hatred nor envy. The poor and unfortunate blessed his name.

His life shows that kindness and tact have to do with success and happiness, as well as talents and industry. The feelings of a heart thoughtful of others were not lost in the lawyer, the financier, the manager, the projector, the politician, the official. Neither his conduct nor his character was affected by prosperity. The odium so often attached to wealth and station never rested on him. In the height of his position he found the fulness of his fame. No hostile criticism wounded him while living, or mars his reputation when dead.

He died in the maturity of his powers in the second place of honor in the land. His death seemed untimely, but it fixed his memory at the height of his fame, untouched by the feebleness of age, unlessened by the forgetfulness of a busy world. The value of his life, as a lesson for our age, lies in the fact that day by day with all his power he did the duty next at hand without waiting for a greater task. The present duty centred his thoughts, and gave him freedom from foreboding cares and anxious aims for the future. Carlyle truly said: "There is no life of a good man but is a heroic poem of its sort." The poem of this life is found in its kindness, its sincerity, and its fidelity to every duty.

The story of such a life belongs to the history of this nation, and deserves to be remembered. It is still a vital force in the memories of many faithful friends and many grateful hearts. Happy is

the land in which the young are being trained in homes of industry, love, and piety to live true lives and to serve their fellows, their country, and their God.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Speeches of Nomination

J. Franklin Fort, in placing Garret A. Hobart in nomination, said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:—I rise to present to this Convention the claims of New Jersey to the Vice-Presidency.

We come because we feel that we can, for the first time in our history, bring to you a promise that our electoral vote will be cast for your nominees. If you comply with our request, this promise will surely be redeemed.

For forty years through the blackness of darkness of a universally triumphant Democracy, the Republicans of New Jersey have maintained their organization, and fought as valiantly as if the outcome were to be assured victory. Only twice through all this long period has the sun shone in upon us. Yet through all these weary years, we have, like Goldsmith's "Captive," felt that:

Hope, like the gleaming taper's light,
Adorns and cheers our way,
And still as darker grows the night,
Emits a brighter ray.

The fulfilment of this hope came in 1894. In that year for the first time since the Republican party came into existence, we sent to Congress a solid delegation of eight Republicans, and elected a Republican to the United States Senate. We followed this in 1895 by electing a Republican

Governor by a majority of 27,000. And in this year of grace we expect to give the Republican electors a majority of not less than 20,000.

I come then to you to-day in behalf of New Jersey, a politically redeemed and regenerated State. Old things have passed away, and behold all things have become new. It is many long years since New Jersey has received recognition by a National Convention.

When Henry Clay stood for protection in 1844, New Jersey furnished Theodore Frelinghuysen as his associate. The issue then was the restoration of the tariff, and was more nearly like that of to-day than that of any other period which I can recall in the nation's political history. In 1856, when the freedom of man brought the Republican party into existence, and the great "Pathfinder" was called to lead, New Jersey furnished for that unequal contest William L. Dayton as the Vice-Presidential candidate. Since then counting for nothing, we have asked for nothing. During this period Maine has had a candidate for President and a Vice-President; New York four Vice-Presidents, one of whom became President for almost a full term; Indiana, a President, a candidate for President and a Vice-President; Illinois a President four times, and a Vice-Presidential candidate; Ohio two Presidents, and now a candidate for the third time; Tennessee a Vice-President, who became President for almost a full term.

We believe that the Vice-Presidency in 1896 should be given to New Jersey; we have reasons for our opinion. We have the electoral votes. We have carried the State in the elections of 1893, 1894, and 1895. We hope and believe we can keep the State in the Republican column for all time. By your action to-day you can greatly aid us. Do you believe you could place the Vice-Presidency in a State more justly entitled to recognition, or one which it would be of more public advantage to hold in the Republicans ranks? If the party in any State is deserving

of approval for the sacrifices of its members to maintain its organization, then the Republicans of New Jersey in this, the hour of their ascendancy, after long years of bitter defeat, feel that they cannot come to this convention in vain. We appeal to our brethren in the South, who know with us what it is to be overridden by fraud in the ballot-box, to be counted out by corrupt election officers, to be dominated by an arrogant, unrelenting Democracy. We should have carried our State at every election for the past ten years, if the count had been an honest one. We succeeded in throttling the ballot-box stuffer, and imprisoning the corrupt election officers, only to have the whole raft of them pardoned in a day to work again their nefarious practices upon an honest people. But to-day, under ballot reform laws with an honest count, we know we can win. It has been a long and terrible strife to the goal, but we have reached it unaided and unassisted from without, and we come to-day promising to the ticket here selected the vote of New Jersey, whether you give us the Vice-Presidential candidate or not.

We make it no test of our Republicanism that we have a candidate. We have been too long used to fighting for principle for that. But we do say that you can by granting our request, lighten our burden, and make us a confident party, with victory in sight even before the contest begins. Will we carry Colorado, Montana, and Nevada this year, if the Democracy declares for silver at 16 to 1? Let us hope that we may. New Jersey has as many electoral votes as those three States together. Will you not make New Jersey sure to take their place in case of need? We have in all these long years of Republicanism been the "Lone Star" Democratic State in the North. Our forty years' wandering in the wilderness of Democracy are ended. Our Egyptian darkness disappears. We are on the hill-top, looking into the promised land. Encourage us, as we march over into the political Canaan of Republicanism,

there to remain, by giving us a leader on the national ticket to go up with us. We are proud of our public men. Their Republicanism and love of country have been welded in the furnace of political adversity. That man is a Republican, who adheres to the party in a State where there is no hope for the gratification of personal ambitions. There are no camp followers in the minority party in any State. They are all true soldiers in the militant army doing valiant service without reward, gain, or the hope thereof, from principle only.

A true representative of this class of Republicans in New Jersey we will offer you to-day. He is in the prime of life, a never-faltering friend, with qualities of leadership unsurpassed, of sterling honor, of broad mind, of liberal views, of wide public information, of great business capacity, and, withal, a parliamentarian who would grace the presidency of the Senate of the United States. A native of our State, the son of an humble farmer, he was reared to love of country in sight of the historic field of Monmouth, on which the blood of our ancestors was shed that the Republic might exist. From a poor country boy, unaided and alone, he has risen to high renown among us. In our State we have done for him all that the political conditions would permit. He has been Speaker of our Assembly and President of our Senate. He has been the choice for United States Senator of the Republican minority in the Legislature, and had it been in our power to have placed him in the Senate of the United States, he would long ere this have been there. His capabilities are such as would grace any position in the nation. Not for himself, but for our State; not for his ambition, but to give to the nation the highest type of public official, do we come to this convention by the command of our State, and in the name of the Republican party of New Jersey, unconquered and unconquerable, undivided and indivisible, with our united voice speaking for all that counts for good citizenship in our State, we

present to you for the office of Vice-President of the Republic, Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey.

J. Otis Humphrey of Illinois, in seconding this nomination, said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:—I rise to second the nomination, and I do so on behalf of the majority of the delegates of the great State of Illinois—Illinois, which thirty-six years ago gave to the Republican party her most distinguished son; and to the world its greatest human character in the person of Abraham Lincoln—Illinois, which in the dark days of the Republic gave to the party the matchless silent soldier, the greatest military hero the world ever saw, in the person of Ulysses S. Grant—Illinois, which twelve years ago, for this same great office, presented to the Republican party the leading citizen soldier of the century, our own John A. Logan—Illinois, whose electoral vote from Lincoln to Harrison, with unwavering regularity, has always been given to the Republican party.

On her behalf and in her name, and pledging a like fidelity and an equal loyalty to the nominees of the convention, I second the nomination for Vice-President, the Honorable Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey.

When in the roll-call of States West Virginia was reached, Mr. White of that delegation said:

Mr. Chairman:—I ask at this time, though the conditions are unfavorable, for the privilege of speaking for a Republican State with a Republican electoral vote, on the question who shall be our candidate for Vice-President. Although West Virginia was the first Southern State to break the Solid South, which it did in 1888 by electing our gallant General Goff, who was deprived of his seat by a Legislature Democratic in a joint ballot by one vote, West Virginia, Mr.

Chairman, is here as a Southern State with a Republican electoral vote, solid for sound money, solid for McKinley, and solid for Mr. Hobart of New Jersey for Vice-President.

APPENDIX II

Notification of Nomination—Senator Fairbanks's Speech—Reply of Mr. Hobart

Senator Fairbanks, chairman of the Notification Committee, said in informing Mr. Hobart of his nomination:

Mr. Hobart:—The Republican National Convention, recently assembled at St. Louis, commissioned us to formally notify you of your nomination for the office of Vice-President of the United States. We are met pursuant to the direction of the Convention to perform the agreeable duty assigned us.

In all the splendid history of the great party, which holds our loyal allegiance, the necessity was never more urgent for steadfast adherence to those wholesome principles, which have been the sure foundation-rock of our national prosperity. The demand was never greater for men, who hold principles above all else, and who are unmoved either by the clamor of the hour, or the promises of false teachers.

The Convention at St. Louis in full measure met the high demands of the times in its declaration of party principles, and in the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Sir, the office for which you are nominated is of rare dignity, honor, and power. It has been graced by the most eminent statesmen, who have contributed to the upbuilding of the strength and glory of the Republic.

Because of your exalted personal character, and of your intelligent and patriotic devotion to the enduring principles of a protective tariff, which wisely discriminates in favor of American interests; and to a currency whose soundness and integrity none can challenge; and because of your conspicuous fitness for the exacting and important duties of the high office, the Republican National Convention, with a unanimity and enthusiasm rarely witnessed, chose you as our candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

We know it to be gratifying to you personally to be the associate of William McKinley in the pending contest. For you and your distinguished associate we bespeak the enthusiastic and intelligent support of all our countrymen who desire that prosperity shall again rule throughout the Republic.

Mr. Hobart replied to this address as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:—I beg to extend to you my grateful acknowledgments for the kind and flattering terms in which you convey the formal announcement of my nomination for Vice-President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at St. Louis. I am profoundly sensible of the honor, which has been done me, and through me, the State in which all my life has been spent, in my selection as a candidate for this high office. I appreciate it the more because it associates me in a contest, which involves the very gravest issues, with one who represents in his private character and public career the highest intelligence and best spirit of his party, and with whom my personal relations are such as to afford a guarantee of perfect accord in the campaign which is before us.

It is sufficient for me to say at this time that concurring in all the declarations of principle and policy embodied in the St. Louis platform, I accept the nomination tendered to me with a full appreciation of its responsibilities, and

with an honest purpose in the event that the people shall ratify the choices made by the National Convention, to discharge any duties which may devolve upon me with sole reference to the public good.

Let me add that it will be my earnest effort in the coming campaign to contribute in every way possible to the success of the party which we represent, and which, on the important issues of the times, stands for the best interests of the people. Uncertainty or instability as to the money question involves most serious consequences to every interest, and to every citizen of the country. The gravity of this question cannot be overestimated. There can be no financial security, no real prosperity where the policy of the Government as to that question is at all a matter of doubt.

Gold is the one standard of value among all enlightened commercial nations. All financial transactions of whatever character, all business enterprises, all individual or corporate investments are adjusted to it. An honest dollar, worth 100 cents everywhere, cannot be coined out of 53 cents of silver, plus a legislative fiat. Such a debasement of our currency would inevitably produce incalculable loss, appalling disaster, and national dishonor. It is a fundamental principle in coinage, recognized and followed by all the statesmen of America in the past, and never yet safely departed from, that there can be only one basis upon which gold and silver may be concurrently coined as money, and that basis is equality not in weight, but in the commercial value of the metal contained in the respective coins. The commercial value is fixed by the markets of the world, with which the great interests of our country are necessarily connected by innumerable business ties which cannot be severed or ignored. Great and self-reliant as our country is, it is great not alone within its own borders, and upon its own resources, but because it also reaches out to the ends of the earth in all manifold departments of

business, exchange, and commerce, and must maintain with honor its standing and credit among the nations of the earth.

The question admits of no compromise. It is a vital principle at stake, but it is in no sense partisan or sectional. It concerns all people. Ours, as one of the foremost nations, must have a monetary standard equal to the best. It is of vital consequence that this question should be settled now in such a way as to restore public confidence here and everywhere in the integrity of our purpose. A doubt of that integrity among other great commercial countries of the world will not only cost us millions of money, but that which, as patriots, we should treasure still more highly—our industrial and commercial supremacy.

My estimate of the value of a protective policy has been formed by the study of the object lessons of a great industrial State extending over a period of thirty years. It is that protection not only builds up important industries from small beginnings, but that those and all other industries flourish or languish in proportion as protection is maintained or withdrawn. I have seen it indisputably proved that the prosperity of the farmer, merchant, and all other classes of citizens goes hand in hand with that of the manufacturer and mechanic. I am firmly persuaded that what we need most of all to remove the business paralysis that afflicts this country is the restoration of a policy, which, while affording ample revenue to meet the expenses of the Government, will reopen American workshops on full time and full handed, with their operatives paid good wages in honest dollars; and this can only come under a tariff which will hold the interests of our own people paramount to our political and commercial systems.

The opposite policy, which discourages American enterprises, reduces American labor to idleness, diminishes the earning of American workingmen, opens our markets to commodities from abroad which we should produce at

home, while closing foreign markets against our products, and which at the same time steadily augments the public debt, increasing the public burdens while diminishing the ability of the people to meet them, is a policy which must find its chief popularity elsewhere than among American citizens.

I shall take an early opportunity, gentlemen of the committee, through you to communicate to my fellow-citizens with somewhat more of detail, my views concerning the dominant questions of the hour, and the crisis which confronts us as a nation.

With this brief expression of my appreciation of the distinguished honor that has been bestowed upon me, and this signification of my acceptance of the trust to which I have been summoned, I place myself at the service of the Republican party and of the country.

APPENDIX III

Garret A. Hobart's Letter of Acceptance

In accordance with custom the following public letter, addressed to the Notification Committee of the National Convention, was issued as a declaration of the principles which Mr. Hobart held, and for which the Republican party stood:

PATERSON, N. J., September 7, 1896.

Hon. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS,
and others, of the Notification Committee
of the Republican National Convention:

GENTLEMEN:—

I have already, in accepting the nomination for the office of the Vice-Presidency tendered me by the National Republican Convention, expressed my approval of the platform adopted by that body as the party basis of doctrine. In accordance with accepted usage, I beg now to supplement that brief statement of my views, by some additional reflections upon the questions which are in debate before the American people.

The platform declarations in reference to the money question express clearly and unmistakably the attitude of the Republican party as to this supremely important subject. We stand unqualifiedly for honesty in finance, and the permanent adjustment of our monetary system, in the multifarious activities of trade and commerce, to the existing gold standard of value. We hold that every dollar of currency issued by the United States, whether of gold,

silver, or paper must be worth a dollar in gold, whether in the pocket of a man who toils for his daily bread, in the vault of the savings bank which holds his deposits, or in the exchanges of the world.

The money standard of a great nation should be as fixed and permanent as the nation itself. To secure and retain the best should be the desire of every right-minded citizen. Resting on stable foundations, continuous and unvarying certainty of value should be its distinguishing characteristic. The experience of all history confirms the truth that every coin, made under any law, howsoever that coin may be stamped, will finally command in the markets of the world the exact value of the materials which compose it. The dollar of our country, whether of gold or silver, should be of the full value of one hundred cents, and by so much as any dollar is worth less than this in the market, by precisely that sum will some one be defrauded.

The necessity of a certain and fixed money value between nations as well as individuals has grown out of the interchange of commodities, the trade and business relationships which have arisen among the peoples of the world with the enlargement of human wants and the broadening of human interests. This necessity has made gold the final standard of all enlightened nations. Other metals, including silver, have a recognized commercial value, and silver, especially, has a value of great importance for subsidiary coinage. In view of a sedulous effort by the advocates of free coinage to create a contrary impression, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Republican party in its platform affirms this value in silver, and favors the largest possible use of this metal as actual money that can be maintained with safety. Not only this, it will not antagonize, but will gladly assist in promoting a double standard wherever it can be secured by agreement and co-operation among the nations. The bimetallic currency, involving the free use of silver, which we now

have, is cordially approved by Republicans. But a standard and a currency are vastly different things.

If we are to continue to hold our place among the great commercial nations, we must cease juggling with this question, and make our honesty of purpose clear to the world. No room should be left for misconception as to the meaning of the language used in the bonds of the Government not yet matured. It should not be possible for any party or individual to raise a question as to the purpose of the country to pay all its obligations in the best form of money recognized by the commercial world. Any nation which is worthy of credit or confidence can afford to say explicitly, on a question so vital to every interest, what it means, when such meaning is challenged or doubted. It is desirable that we should make it known at once and authoritatively, that an "honest dollar" means any dollar equivalent to a gold dollar of the present standard of weight and fineness. The world should likewise be assured that the standard dollar of America is as inflexible a quantity as the French napoleon, the British sovereign, or the German twenty mark piece.

The free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one is a policy which no nation has ever before proposed, and it is not to-day permitted in any mint in the world—not even in Mexico. It is purposed to make the coinage unlimited, at an absolutely fictitious ratio, fixed with no reference to intrinsic value or pledge of ultimate redemption. With silver at its present price of less than seventy cents per ounce in the market, such a policy means an immediate profit to the seller of silver for which there is no return now or hereafter to the people or the Government. It means that for each dollar's worth of silver bullion delivered at the mint, practically two dollars of stamped coin will be given in exchange. For one hundred dollars' worth of bullion, nearly two hundred silver dollars will be delivered.

Let it also be remembered that the consequences of such

an act would probably be cumulative in their effects. The crop of silver, unlike that of hay, or wheat, or corn—which, being of yearly production, can be regulated by the law of demand and supply—is fixed once for all. The silver which has not yet been gathered is all in the ground. Dearth or other accident of the elements cannot augment or diminish it. Is it not more than probable that with the enormous premium offered for its mining, the cupidity of man would make an over-supply continuous, with the necessary result of a steady depreciation as long as the silver dollar could be kept in circulation at all? Under the laws of finance, which are as fixed as those of any other science, the inevitable result would finally be a currency all and absolutely fiat. There is no difference in principle between a dollar half fiat and one all fiat. The latter, as the cheapest, under the logic of “cheap money,” would surely drive the other out.

Any attempt on the part of the Government to create by its fiat money of a fictitious value, would dishonor us in the eyes of other peoples, and bring infinite reproach upon the national character. The business and financial consequences of such an immoral act would be world-wide, because our commercial relations are world-wide. All our settlements with other lands must be made, not with the money which may be legally current in our own country, but in gold, the standard of all nations with which our relations are most cordial and extensive, and no legislative enactment can free us from that inevitable necessity. It is a known fact that more than eighty per cent of the commerce of the world is settled in gold, or on a gold basis.

Such free coinage legislation, if ever consummated, would discriminate against every producer of wheat, cotton, corn, or rye—who should in justice be equally entitled, with the silver owner, to sell his products to the United States treasury, at a profit fixed by the Government—and against all producers of iron, steel, zinc, or copper, who

might properly claim to have their metals made into current coin. It would, as well, be a fraud upon all persons forced to accept a currency thus stimulated and at the same time degraded.

In every aspect the proposed policy is partial and one-sided, because it is only when a profit can be made by a mine owner or dealer, that he takes his silver to the mint for coinage. The Government is always at the losing end. Stamp such fictitious value upon silver ore, and a dishonest and unjust discrimination will be made against every other form of industry. When silver bullion, worth a little more than fifty cents, is made into a legal tender dollar, driving out one having a purchasing and debt-paying power of one hundred cents, it will clearly be done at the expense and injury of every class of the community.

Those who contend for the free and unlimited coinage of silver may believe in all honesty that while the present ratio of silver to gold is as thirty to one (not sixteen to one), silver will rise above the existing market value. If it does so rise, the effect will be to make the loss to all the people so much less, but such an opinion is but a hazardous conjecture at best, and is not justified by experience. Within the last twenty years this Government has bought about 460,000,000 ounces of silver, from which it has coined approximately 430,000,000 silver dollars, and issued \$130,000,000 in silver certificates, and the price of the metal has steadily declined from \$1.15 per ounce to sixty-eight cents per ounce. What will be the decline when the supply is augmented by the offerings of all the world? The loss upon these silver purchases to the people of this country has now been nearly \$150,000,000.

The dollar of our fathers, about which so much is said, was an honest dollar, silver maintaining a full parity of intrinsic value with gold. The fathers would have spurned and ridiculed a proposition to make a silver dollar, worth only fifty-three cents, stand of equal value with a gold one

worth one hundred cents. The experience of all nations proves that any depreciation, however slight, of another standard from the parity with gold, has driven the more valuable one out of circulation, and such experience in a matter of this kind is worth much more than mere interested speculative opinion. The fact that few gold coins are seen in ordinary circulation for domestic uses is no proof at all that the metal is not performing a most important function in business affairs. The foundation of the house is not always in sight, but the house would not stand an hour if there were no foundation. The great enginery that moves the ocean steamship is not always in view of the passenger, but it is, all the same, the propelling force of the vessel, without which it would soon become a worthless derelict.

It may be instructive to consider a moment how the free and unlimited coinage of silver would affect a few great interests, and I mention only enough to demonstrate what a calamity may lie before us if the platform formulated at Chicago is permitted to be carried out:

There are now on deposit in the savings banks of thirty-three States and Territories of the Union, the vast sum of \$2,000,000,000. These are the savings of almost 5,000,000 depositors. In many cases, they represent the labor and economies of years. Any depreciation in the value of the dollar would defraud every man, woman, and child to whom these savings belong. Every dollar of their earnings when deposited was worth one hundred cents in gold of the present standard of weight and fineness. Are they not entitled to receive in full, with interest, all they have so deposited? Any legislation that would reduce it by the value of a single dime would be an intolerable wrong to each depositor. Every bank or banker, who has accepted the earnings of these millions of dollars to the credit of our citizens, must be required to pay them back in money not one whit less valuable than that which these banks and bankers received in trust.

There are, in this country, nearly six thousand building and loan associations, with shareholders to the number of 1,800,000; and with assets amounting to more than \$500,000,000. Their average of holdings is nearly \$300 per capita, and in many cases they represent the savings of men and women who have denied themselves the comforts of life in the hope of being able to accumulate enough to buy or build homes of their own. They have aided in the erection of over a million of houses, which are now affording comfort and shelter for five millions of our thrifty people.

Free coinage at the arbitrary rate of sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold would be equivalent to the confiscation of nearly half the savings that these people have invested. It would be tantamount to a war upon American home-makers. It would be an invasion of "the homes of the provident," and tend directly to "destroy the stimulus to endeavor and the compensation of honest toil." Every one of the shareholders of these associations is entitled to be repaid in money of the same value which he deposited, by weekly payments or otherwise, in these companies. No one of them should be made homeless because a political party demands a change in the money standard of our country as an experiment, or as a concession to selfishness or greed.

The magnitude of the disaster which would overtake these and cognate interests becomes the more strikingly apparent when considered in the aggregate. Stated broadly, the savings banks, life insurance and assessment companies, and building loan associations of the country, hold in trust \$15,309,717,381. The debasement of the currency to the silver basis, as proposed by the Chicago platform, would wipe out at one blow approximately \$7,654,858,690 of this aggregate. According to the report of the Department of Agriculture, the total value of the main cereal crops in this country in 1894 was \$995,438,107.

So that the total sum belonging to the people, and held in trust in these institutions, which would be obliterated by the triumph of free and unlimited silver coinage, would be seven and one-half times the total value of the annual cereal crop of the United States. The total value of the manufactured products of the country, for the census year of 1890, was \$9,372,537,283. The establishment of a silver basis of value, as now proposed, would entail a loss to these three interests alone equal to eighty-five per cent of this enormous output of all the manufacturing industries of the Union, and would affect directly nearly one third of its whole population.

One hundred and forty millions of dollars per annum are due to pensioners of the late war. That sum represents blood spilled and sufferings endured in order to preserve this nation from disintegration. In many cases the sums so paid in pensions are exceedingly small; in few, if any, are they excessive. The spirit that would deplete these to the extent of a farthing is the same that would organize sedition, destroy the peace and security of the country, punish rather than reward our veteran soldiers, and is unworthy of the countenance by thought or vote of any patriotic citizen of whatever political faith. No party, until that which met in convention at Chicago, has ever ventured to insult the honored survivors of our struggle for the national life by proposing to scale their pensions horizontally, and to pay them hereafter in depreciated dollars worth only fifty-three cents each.

The amounts due, in addition to the interests already named, to depositors and trust companies in national, state and private banks, to holders of fire and accident insurance policies, to holders of industrial insurance, where the money deposited or the premiums have been paid in gold or its equivalent, are so enormous together with the sums due, and to become due, for state, municipal, county, or other corporate debts, that if paid in depreciated silver or its

equivalent, it would not only entail upon our fellow-countrymen a loss in money which has not been equalled in a similar experience since the world began, but it would, at the same time, bring a disgrace to our country such as has never befallen any other nation which had the ability to pay its honest debts. In our condition, and considering our magnificent capacity for raising revenue, such wholesale repudiation is without necessity or excuse. No political expediency or party exigency however pressing, could justify so monstrous an act.

All these deposits and debts must, under the platform of the Republican party, be met and adjusted in the best currency the world knows, and measured by the same standard in which the debts have been contracted or the deposits or payments have been made.

Still dealing sparingly with figures, of which there is an enormous mass to sustain the position of the advocates of the gold standard of value, I cite one more fact, which is officially established, premised by the truism that there is no better test of the growth of a country's prosperity than its increase in the per capita holdings of its population. In the decade between 1880 and 1890, during which we had our existing gold standard, and were under the conditions that supervened from the Act of 1873, the per capita ownings of this country increased from \$870 to \$1036. In those ten years the aggregate increase of the wealth of our country was \$21,395,000,000, being fifty per cent in excess of the increase for any previous ten years since 1850, and at the amazing rate of over \$2,000,000,000 a year. The framers of the Chicago platform, in the face of this fact, and of the enormous increase over Great Britain, during this same gold standard decade, of our country's foreign trade and its production of iron, coal, and other great symbols of national strength and progress, assert that our monetary standard is "not only un-American, but anti-American," and that it has brought us "into financial servitude to London."

It is impossible to imagine an assertion more reckless and indefensible.

The proposition for free and unlimited silver coinage, carried to its logical conclusion—and but one is possible—means, as before intimated, legislative warrant for the repudiation of all existing indebtedness, public and private, to the extent of nearly fifty per cent of the face of all such indebtedness. It demands an unlimited volume of fiat currency, irredeemable, and therefore without any standard value in the markets of the world. Every consideration of public interest and public honor demands that this proposition should be rejected by the American people.

This country cannot afford to give its sanction to wholesale spoliation. It must hold fast to its integrity. It must still encourage thrift in all proper ways. It must not only educate its children to honor and respect the flag, but it should inculcate fidelity to the obligations of personal and national honor as well. Both these great principles should hereafter be taught in the common schools of the land, and the lesson impressed upon those who are the voters of to-day and those who are to become the inheritors of sovereign power in this republic, that it is neither wise, patriotic, nor safe to make political platforms the mediums of assault upon property, the peace of society, and upon civilization itself.

Until these lessons have been learned by our children, and by those who have reached the voting age, it can only be surmised what enlightened statesmen and political economists will record as to the action of a party convention which offers an inducement to national dishonesty by a premium of forty-seven cents for every fifty-three cents' worth of silver that can be extracted from the bowels of the whole earth, with a cordial invitation to all to produce it at our mints and accept for it a full silver legal-tender dollar of one hundred cents rated value, to be coined free of charge and unlimited in quantity for private account.

But vastly more than a mere assertion of a purpose to reconstruct the national currency is suggested by the Chicago platform. It assumes, in fact, the form of a revolutionary propaganda.

It embodies a menace of national distintegration and destruction. This spirit manifested itself in a deliberate proposition to repudiate the plighted public faith, to impair the sanctity of the obligation of private contracts, to cripple the credit of the nation by stripping the Government of the power to borrow money as the urgent exigencies of the treasury may require, and, in a word, to overthrow all the foundations of financial and industrial stability.

Nor is this all. Not content with a proposition to thus debauch the currency, and to unsettle all conditions of trade and commerce, the party responsible for this platform denies the competency of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens against internal disorder and violence.

It assails the judicial muniments reared by the Constitution for the defence of individual rights and the public welfare, and it even threatens to destroy the integrity and independence of the Supreme Court, which has been the last refuge of the citizen against every form of outrage and injustice.

In the face of the serious peril which these propositions embody, it would seem that there could be but one sentiment among right-thinking citizens, as to the duty of the hour. All men, of whatever party, who believe in law, and have some regard for the sacredness of individual and institutional rights, must unite in defence of the endangered interests of the nation.

While the financial issue which has been thus considered, and which has come, as the result of the agitation of recent years, to occupy a peculiar conspicuousness, is admittedly of primary importance, there is another question which must command careful and serious attention. Our

financial and business condition is at this moment one of almost unprecedented depression. Our great industrial system is seriously paralyzed. Production in many important branches of manufacture has altogether ceased. Capital is without remunerative employment. Labor is idle. The revenues of the Government are insufficient to meet its ordinary and necessary expenses. These conditions are not the result of accident. They are the outcome of a mistaken economic policy, deliberately enacted and applied. It would not be difficult, and would not involve any violent disturbance of our existing commercial system, to enact necessary tariff modifications along the lines of experience. For the first two fiscal years of the so-called McKinley Tariff, the receipts from customs were \$380,807,980. At this writing the Wilson Tariff Act has been in force for nearly two full fiscal years; but the total receipts, actual and estimated, cannot exceed \$312,441,947. A steady deficit, constantly depleting the resources of the Government and trenching even upon its gold reserve, has brought about public distrust and business disaster. It has, too, necessitated the sale of \$262,000,000 of bonds, thereby increasing to that extent the national debt. It will be remembered that in no year of the more than a quarter of a century of continuous Republican administration succeeding the Civil War, when our industries were disintegrated and all the conditions of business were more or less disturbed, was the national debt increased by a single dollar; it was, on the contrary, steadily and rapidly diminished. In such a condition of affairs as this, it is idle to argue against the necessity of some sort of a change in our fiscal laws. The Democratic party declares for a remedy by direct taxation upon a selected class of citizens. It opposes any application of the protective principle.

Our party holds that by a wise adjustment of the tariff, conceived in moderation and with a view to stability, we may secure all needed revenue, and it declares that in the

event of its restoration to power, it will seek to accomplish that result. It holds, too, that it is the duty of the Government to protect and encourage in all practical ways the development of domestic industries, the elevation of home labor, and the enlargement of the prosperity of the people. It does not favor any form of legislation which would lodge in the Government the power to do what the people ought to do for themselves, but it believes that it is both wise and patriotic to discriminate in favor of our own material resources, and the utilization under the best attainable conditions, of our own capital and our own available skill and industry.

The words of the Republican national platform on this subject are at once temperate and emphatic. It says of the policy of Protection: "In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism. . . . We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports, which come into competition with American products, as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the production and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest."

The Republican party, in its first successful national contest, under Abraham Lincoln, declared in favor "of that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working man living wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence." The principle

thus enunciated has never been abandoned. In the crisis now upon us, it must be tenaciously adhered to. While we must insist that our monetary standard shall be maintained in harmony with that of the civilized world, that our currency will be sound and honest, we must also remember that unless we make it possible for capital to find employment and for labor to earn ample and remunerative wages, it will be impossible to attain that degree of prosperity which, with a sound monetary policy buttressed by a sound tariff policy, will be assured.

In 1892, when by universal consent we touched the high water mark of our national prosperity, we were under the same financial system that we have to-day. Gold was then the sole standard, and silver and paper were freely used as the common currency. We had a tariff framed by Republican hands under the direction of the great statesman who now logically leads the contest for a restoration of the policy whose reversal brought paralysis to so many of our industries and distress upon so large a body of our people. We were under the policy of reciprocity, formulated by another illustrious statesman of the genuine American type. We may, if we choose to do so, return to the prosperous conditions which existed before the present administration came into power.

My sincere conviction is that my countrymen will prove wise enough to understand the issues that confront them, and patriotic enough to apply safe and sure remedies for the evils that oppress us. They will not, I am sure, accept again at their face value the promises of a party, which, under desperate and perverted leadership, has so recently dishonored its solemn pledges, which has repudiated the principles and policies which have given it a historic past, and the success of which, as now constituted, would endanger at home private security and the public safety, and disastrously affect abroad both our credit and good name. And foremost among those who will decline to

follow where the new Democracy leads, will be thousands of men, Democrats aforetime and Democrats to-day, who count country more than party, and are unwilling, even by indirection, to contribute to results so disastrous to our most sacred interests.

The platform of the Republican National Convention states the party position concerning other questions than those herein referred to. These, while at the present time of subordinate importance, should not be overlooked. The Republican party has always been the defender of the rights of American citizenship, as against all aggressions whatever, whether at home or abroad. It has, to the extent of its power, defended those rights, and hedged them about with law. Regarding the ballot as the expression and embodiment of the sovereignty of the individual citizen, it has sought to safeguard it against assault, and to preserve its purity and integrity. In our foreign relations it has labored to secure to every man entitled to the shelter of our flag the fullest exercise of his rights consistent with international obligation. If it should be restored to rulership, it would infuse needed vigor into our relations with powers which have manifested contempt and disregard not only of American citizenship, but of humanity itself.

The Republican party has always stood for the protection of the American home. It has aimed to secure it in the enjoyment of all the blessings of remunerated industry, of moral culture, and of favorable physical environment. It was the party which instituted the policy of free homesteads, and which holds now that this policy should be re-established, and that the public lands, yet vacant and subject to entry in any part of our national territory, should be preserved against corporate aggression as homes for the people. It realizes that the safety of the State lies in the multiplication of households, and the strengthening of that sentiment of which the virtuous home is the best and the

truest embodiment; and it will aim to dignify and enlarge by all proper legislation this element of security.

If elected to the position for which I have been nominated, it will be my earnest and constant endeavor, under Divine guidance, in the sphere of duty assigned to me, to serve the people loyally along the line of the principles and policies of the party which has honored me with its preference.

I am, gentlemen of the committee,

Very truly yours,

GARRET A. HOBART.

APPENDIX IV

List of Official Persons Attending the Funeral of Vice-President Hobart at Paterson, New Jersey, November 25, 1899

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

President of the United States

Members of the Cabinet

JOHN HAY, Secretary of State

LYMAN J. GAGE, Secretary of the Treasury

ELIHU ROOT, Secretary of War

JOHN W. GRIGGS, Attorney-General

CHARLES EMORY SMITH, Postmaster-General

JOHN D. LONG, Secretary of Navy

ETHAN A. HITCHCOCK, Secretary of Interior

JAMES WILSON, Secretary of Agriculture

Members of the Supreme Court

MELVILLE W. FULLER, Chief-Justice

DAVID J. BREWER

HENRY B. BROWN

JOSEPH MCKENNA

Senators of the United States

NELSON W. ALDRICH,
Rhode Island

WILLIAM B. ALLISON,
Iowa

AUGUSTUS O. BACON,
Georgia

JAMES H. BERRY,
Arkansas

Official Persons Attending Funeral 295

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE,
Indiana

JULIUS C. BURROWS,
Michigan

MARION BUTLER,
North Carolina

THOMAS H. CARTER,
Montana

WILLIAM E. CHANDLER,
New Hampshire

CLARENCE D. CLARK,
Wyoming

WILLIAM A. CLARK,
Montana

ALEXANDER S. CLAY,
Georgia

FRANCIS M. COCKRELL,
Missouri

CHARLES A. CULBERSON,
Texas

SHELBY M. CULLOM,
Illinois

JOHN W. DANIEL,
Virginia

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW,
New York

STEPHEN B. ELKINS,
West Virginia

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS
Indiana

JOSEPH B. FORAKER,
Ohio

ADDISON G. FOSTER,
Washington

WILLIAM P. FRYE,
Maine

JACOB H. GALLINGER,
New Hampshire

EUGENE HALE,
Maine

MARCUS A. HANNA,
Ohio

HENRY C. HANSBROUGH,
North Dakota

WILLIAM A. HARRIS,
Kansas

JOSEPH R. HAWLEY,
Connecticut

HENRY HEITFIELD,
Idaho

GEORGE F. HOAR,
Massachusetts

JAMES K. JONES,
Arkansas

JOHN P. JONES,
Nevada

JOHN KEAN,
New Jersey

RICHARD KENNEY,
Delaware

JAMES H. KYLE,
South Dakota

WILLIAM LINDSAY,
Kentucky

HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Massachusetts

LOUIS E. McCOMAS,
Missouri

JOHN L. McLaurin,
South Carolina

JAMES McMILLAN,
Michigan

WILLIAM E. MASON,
Illinois

JOHN T. MORGAN,
Alabama

ORVILLE H. PLATT,
Connecticut

THOMAS C. PLATT,
New York

BOIES PENROSE,
Pennsylvania

JETER C. PRITCHARD,
North Carolina

REDFIELD PROCTOR,
Vermont

WILLIAM H. SCOTT,
West Virginia

WILLIAM J. SEWELL,
New Jersey

JAMES SMITH,
New Jersey

JOHN C. SPOONER,
Wisconsin

WILLIAM V. SULLIVAN,
Mississippi

JAMES P. TALIAFERRO,
Florida

BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN,
South Carolina

GEORGE D. WELLINGTON,
Maryland

GEORGE P. WETMORE,
Rhode Island

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT,
Colorado

Members of the House of Representatives

ROBERT ADAMS, Jr.,
Pennsylvania

B. T. ALEXANDER,
New York

DE ALVA S. ALEXANDER,
New York

D. A. DE ARMOND,
Missouri

THOMAS H. BALL,
Texas

JOHN A. BARNHAM,
California

M. E. BENTON,
Missouri

HENRY H. BINGHAM,
Pennsylvania

R. P. BISHOP,
Michigan

H. S. BOUTELL,
Illinois

MARRIOTT BROSIUS,
Pennsylvania

WALTER BROWNLOW,
Tennessee

CHARLES H. BURKE,
South Dakota

CHAMP CLARK,
Missouri

H. D. CLARKSON,
Missouri

AMOS I. CUMMINGS,
New York

Official Persons Attending Funeral 297

F. W. CUSHMAN,
Washington
W. D. DALY,
New Jersey
B. B. DAVENOR,
Indiana
ROBERT W. DAVIS,
North Carolina
JOHN DALZELL,
Pennsylvania
FRANK M. EDDY,
Minnesota
ISRAEL FISHER,
New York
CHARLES N. FOWLER,
New Jersey
JOHN J. GARDNER,
New Jersey
F. H. GILLETT,
Massachusetts
D. B. HENDERSON,
Iowa
W. P. HEPBURN,
Iowa
ROBERT R. HITT,
Illinois
BENJAMIN F. HOWELL,
New Jersey
W. L. JONES,
Washington
CHARLES F. JOY,
Missouri
JOHN H. KETCHAM,
New York
RUDOLPH KLEBERG,
Texas

L. F. LIVINGSTONE,
Georgia
CHESTER I. LONG,
Massachusetts
H. C. LOUDENSLAGER,
New Jersey
J. T. LLOYD,
Missouri
GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN,
New York
D. MEEKINSON,
Ohio
DAVID H. MERCER,
Nebraska
ADOLPH MEYER,
Louisiana
E. S. MINOR,
Wisconsin
PAGE MORRIS,
Minnesota
RICHARD W. PARKER,
New Jersey
P. PEDRA,
New Mexico
MAHLON PITNEY,
New Jersey
W. E. REEDER,
Pennsylvania
J. D. RICHARDSON,
Tennessee
JOHN F. RIXEY,
Virginia
GASTON A. ROBBINS,
Alabama
JAMES M. ROBINSON,
Indiana

JOSHUA S. SALMON, New Jersey	J. A. TAWNEY, Minnesota
JOSEPH C. SIBLEY, Pennsylvania	G. W. TAYLOR, Alabama
J. B. SHOWALTER Pennsylvania	H. C. THOMAS, North Carolina
B. F. SPALDING, North Dakota	LOT THOMAS, Iowa
JAMES F. STEWART, New Jersey	GEORGE H. WHITE, Illinois
WILLIAM SULZER, New York	

Other Official Persons from Washington

JOHN ADDISON PORTER	ADJUTANT-GENERAL CORBIN
GEORGE B. CORTELYOU	COL. THEODORE A. BINGHAM
CHARLES G. DAVIS	B. F. RUSSEL
ALEXANDER McDOWELL	J. L. MORRISON
	J. C. McILROY

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

FOSTER M. VOORHEES
Governor

Supreme Court

WILLIAM J. MAGIE, Chief-Justice

Associate Justices

BENNET VAN SYCKEL	JOB H. LIPPINCOTT
JONATHAN DIXON	WILLIAM S. GUMMERE
CHARLES G. GARRISON	GEORGE C. LUDLOW
	GILBERT COLLINS

Vice-Chancellors

HENRY C. PITNEY	ALFRED REED
JOHN R. EMERY	FREDERICK W. STEVENS
	MARTIN P. GREY

Official Persons Attending Funeral 299

GEORGE WURTS, Secretary of State

Citizens of New Jersey

AUSTIN SCOTT	W. S. HANCOCK
HENRY W. GREEN	WILLIAM RIKER
W. M. JOHNSON	GEORGE B. SWAIN
W. S. STRYKER	WILLIAM BETTLE
E. F. C. YOUNG	L. A. THOMPSON
R. F. GOODMAN	

Representative of Governor Roosevelt

COLONEL TREADWELL, of New York

The Union League of New York appointed as its
representatives

DANIEL F. APPLETON	THOMAS L. JAMES
M. C. D. BORDEN	J. PIERPONT MORGAN
CHARLES E. BEAMAN	EDWARD H. PERKINS
HENRY W. CANNON	JAMES W. PINCHOT
LE GRAND B. CANNON	D. B. ST. JOHN ROOSA
ANDREW CARNEGIE	GENERAL WAGER SWAIN
JAMES C. CARTER	WILLIAM L. STRONG
FRANCIS V. GREENE	GRANT B. SCHLEY
HENRY E. HOWLAND	FREDERICK D. TAPPAN
COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON	BENJAMIN F. TRACY
AUGUSTUS D. JUILLIARD	SALEM H. WALES

There were also present personal friends:

Ex-Vice-President LEVI P. MORTON
GENERAL and MRS. ALGER
SIR WILLIAM and LADY McCORMACK
JAMES GARY and MISS GARY
FRANKLIN ALLEN
SAMUEL FESSENDEN

Representatives of the Passaic County Bar

WILLIAM PENNINGTON

EUGENE STEVENSON

THOMAS M. MOORE

WILLIAM B. GOURLEY

ROBERT WILLIAMS

GEORGE S. HILTON

Representing the City of Paterson

Mayor John Hinchcliffe, and committees from the Board of Aldermen and chosen Freeholders with Sheriff Peter H. Hopper, Surrogate Charles M. King, County Clerk Albert D. Winfield, and Postmaster Kohlhaas.

Republican Committees, Business and Benevolent Associations, and Societies and Clubs made applications for places in the church, but owing to its limited space these applications could not be granted.





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